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MEMOIRS

OF

HORATIO, LORD WALPOLE,

SELECTED FROM

HIS CORRESPONDENCE AND PAPERS,

AND CONNECTED WITH

THE HISTORY OF THE TIMES,

FROM 1678 TO 1757.

ILLUSTRATED WITH PORTRAITS.

By WILLIAM COXE, M.A. F.R.S. F.A.S.

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MEMOIRS

OF

LORD WALPOLE.

CHAPTER 22.

1740.

Death of the Emperor Charles the Sixth—Accession of Maria Theresa—Motion in Parliament for the Augmentation of Troops—Speech of Mr. Walpole—Invasion of Silesia by Frederick the Second—Attempts of the British Cabinet to reconcile Austria and Prussia—Mr. Walpole's letter to Mr. Robinson on the Conduct of the Austrian Court—Combination against Maria Theresa—Convention of Neutrality with Prussia—Mr. Walpole appointed Teller of the Exchequer.

THE death of the emperor Charles the Sixth, on the 20th of October 1740, totally altered the system of affairs in Europe. The great object of his policy, during his whole reign, had been to establish the pragmatic sanction, by the solemn guaranty of the european powers; and he succeeded with all, excepting the elector of Bavaria, who had claims on the succession, in consequence of his descent from the imperial fa-

mily. In virtue of this act, his eldest daughter, Maria Theresa, who had espoused Francis of Lorrain, great duke of Tuscany, was proclaimed queen of Hungary and Bohemia, and succeeded to all the hereditary dominions of the house of Austria.

The indivisible succession of these dominions, as a counterpoise to the growing power of the house of Bourbon, was an object of the highest importance to Great Britain; and it was evident that different claimants would appear, and that some would be supported by France, notwithstanding her pacific professions. In this situation of affairs, it became a matter of necessity as well as policy for Great Britain to augment her forces; the standing army was accordingly increased to 51,515 effective men, exclusive of the Irish establishment. But this augmentation was censured with great acrimony, and an address against the measure moved in the house of lords, which was negatived only by 67 against 49 *.

The question was agitated in the house of commons with equal acrimony; but no speech on either side appears in the debates, excepting that of lord Gage, which however is sufficient to shew the temper of the times, when this necessary measure for the defence of the country,

* Tindal, vol. xx, p. 435.

was reprobated as an attempt to enslave the people. "I must own," he said, "I can see but one reason for raising, at this present juncture, this additional number of troops, and that is, to strengthen the hands of the minister against the next elections, by giving him the power of disposing of commissions to the sons, brothers, nephews, cousins, and friends of such as have interest in boroughs; into some of which, perhaps, troops may be sent to procure the free election of their members, in imitation of the late czarina sending her troops into Poland to secure the free election of a king*."

Mr. Walpole took an active share in this debate. After stating the obligations of England to support the indivisibility of the austrian succession, as well in consequence of the barrier treaty, and the guaranty of the pragmatic sanction, as from the policy of preserving such a bulwark against the preponderant power of France, he observed; "The emperor is since dead; his dominions, pursuant to the pragmatic sanction, are devolved upon his eldest daughter, who has, in consequence, the titles of queen of Hungary and Bohemia. She has indeed at present no disturbance in her possession of the whole succession; the casus fœderis for our as-

* Chandler's Debates, vol. xi, p. 388.

sistance does not exist, but nobody knows how soon it may exist. France has declared, in general terms, that she will stand by her engagements; but the elector of Bavaria, ever devoted to the will of France, has laid a claim to all the dominions of that house; and although his first pretended title to that succession has been proved groundless, he still continues to insist upon his pretensions for other reasons. And not only he, but the electors Palatin and Cologne, have refused to recognise the arch-duchess, and consequently there is a foundation laid for disturbance; for it is hardly possible to imagine, that the elector of Bavaria would persevere in his claims, if he did not flatter himself with the hopes of some greater support than his two relations, the electors, in opposition to all the rest of the germanic body. I heartily wish that he may be disappointed; but surely, from the gloomy appearances of a war in those parts, common prudence requires his majesty to have in readiness, upon a sudden emergency, a body of troops to answer his engagements. By the treaty of succession and barrier, his quota is 10,000 men; by that for guarantying the pragmatic sanction, 8000 foot and 4000 horse. The king has already 6000 Danes, and 6000 Hessians; but should the war break out on the continent, upon so dangerous a principle as that of dividing the

Austrian dominions, that number would by no means be sufficient to answer the quota which his majesty would be obliged to furnish."

He then urged the imprudence of relying on the pacific declarations of France, that she would not disturb the tranquillity of Germany, when she had already dispatched two fleets to thwart our operations in the West Indies, which would probably occasion a war in Europe, and might lead to the invasion of this country. "France," he said, "has already experienced the danger and risk of executing her views on the side of Flanders; but an immediate attempt upon these dominions, has never, or indeed but faintly been tried; and our enemy will measure the prospect of their success, by the condition we are in to resist them. In the last great wars, the numbers of our british forces were considerable, and the greatest part of them employed abroad, because the efforts of our enemies were made in foreign parts. We had not then in Great Britain above 9000 men, and the French nothing but their militia upon their own coasts. At the same time our fleets, manned with 40 or 50,000 men, were within our sight and call. Besides the cruisers and convoys to protect our trade in the West Indies, we never before had a considerable squadron there; at present the royal navy may be said to be employed in Ame-

rica, a thing unknown till now. Does not, therefore, the nature of this war, (should a neighbouring power come to an open rupture with us,) require a disposition of our forces different from former wars, when the whole scene of action was confined to the operations by land, and our fleet might be employed in defending our coast?

He adverted to the facility with which France could collect a number of men and ships, and transport them to England, before we could draw together a sufficient marine to oppose their attempts, particularly if supported by Spain, who had at the beginning of the war assembled 7000 men on the coast of Galicia, for an expedition against Great Britain. "But supposing," he concluded, "we could flatter ourselves that a rupture might be chiefly confined to operations in the West Indies, will not those regiments and seamen now proposed be absolutely necessary in all events? It must be several months before they be raised: in the mean time those already sent to the West Indies must, by the course of things and the climate, be extremely diminished, and want to be recruited; and can it be done any other way than by employing these troops, or making draughts from others for those services? So that without an augmentation our present undertaking must

be immediately stopt, or this country exposed to the most imminent danger. Indeed, all things considered, with regard to the state of affairs in Europe, and more particularly with regard to the situation of this country as to the war in which we are already engaged, as well as that which seems to threaten us from a more formidable power, common prudence would rather call upon us for a greater augmentation than this now proposed, and that on account of the defence and security of this government, which ought to be our first and principal care. Because, although foreign troops may be had cheaper than these, and would be more eligible, if the present motions and views of others made it most likely that the troubles would begin abroad; yet surely when what we chiefly apprehend at this time is what immediately regards the welfare of this country, our own national troops are most proper to defend ourselves*."

Soon after the decision of this question, the apprehensions of the minister were justified; the exhausted condition of the austrian finances, and the reduced state of the army, together with the youth and inexperience of Maria Theresa, tempted numerous pretenders to claim the

* Abstract of this Speech in the Walpole Papers.

austrian succession. Besides the electors of Bavaria and Saxony, the kings of Spain and Sardinia brought forward obsolete pretensions, and France was preparing to interfere in the contest. While these complicated interests occupied the attention of Europe, the king of Prussia over-ran Silesia with a powerful army, and revived the antiquated claims of his family on the lordships of Lignitz, Brieg, Wolau, and Jaegendorf.

He affected, however, to preserve the appearance of moderation, and offered on the cession of those districts, to pay 2,000,000 florins to renew his guaranty of the austrian territories, to conclude an alliance with Austria, Russia, and the maritime powers, and to assist in securing the imperial crown for the great duke of Tuscany. These offers were indignantly rejected by Maria Theresa, and vast preparations for resistance were made through all parts of her hereditary dominions. The news of this unprovoked aggression excited general indignation in England; the selfish and imperious conduct of the court of Vienna was instantly forgotten, and nothing was remembered but the wrongs of a young, beautiful, and unoffending princess*.

* For an account of these interesting events, see History of the House of Austria.

The situation of England was highly alarming. In the midst of an unsuccessful war with Spain, on the eve of a war with France, disunited from Prussia and the Protestant princes of the empire, without prospect of assistance from the Dutch or the northern powers, and loaded with the support of a sinking ally, who, in the lowest state of weakness and degradation, retained the haughtiness and obstinacy of past grandeur, the minister deeply felt the difficulties with which he was surrounded: he acknowledged the justice and policy of preventing the dismemberment of the austrian dominions; but was aware that England and Austria alone could not resist the combination of the principal european powers. He therefore saw the necessity of an immediate accommodation between Austria and Prussia, and urged the court of Vienna to accede to the demands of Frederick. But he was, at the same time, driven by the impulse of the nation, to propose a grant of 300,000*l.* to the queen of Hungary.

At this crisis Mr. Walpole forwarded the views of his brother, and in a letter to the duke of Cumberland, records an anecdote which proves that the obstinacy of Maria Theresa was occasioned by the arts of opposition, and the ill-judged enthusiasm of the british nation. "At the request of lord Orford, a person (allud-

ing to himself) having represented to count Ostein, the austrian minister in London, the great advantages or fatal consequences of agreeing or disagreeing with Prussia, that minister promised to lay what was urged before his court in favour of the propositions of Prussia. At the same time the parliament had voted 300,000*l.* for enabling his majesty to make good his engagements with the queen of Hungary; and a certain great man*, then in opposition, told count Ostein, that the subsidy did not proceed from the good disposition of the ministry, but was extorted by the general voice of the parliament and people. The austrian minister accordingly changed his sentiments and language, and encouraged his court not to agree with Prussia; because England would spend the last drop of their blood, and the last penny of money, in support of the queen of Hungary. The result was, that she obstinately rejected the alliance with Prussia, who entered into the measures of France."

During these transactions, Mr. Sandys made his celebrated motion for the removal of Sir Robert Walpole; and, in the debate, the internal state of the country was represented as desperate, and the unfortunate aspect of foreign affairs solely attributed to his sinister influence. The

* Lord Carteret.

minister defended himself with unusual ability, and the question was negatived by a triumphant majority. The parliament was soon afterwards dissolved; the king repaired to Hanover, in opposition to the remonstrances of Sir Robert Walpole *, and the whole kingdom was agitated with the struggles of the contending parties for the new elections. Mr. Walpole was chosen without opposition for the city of Norwich, and renewed his efforts to promote the accommodation between Austria and Prussia, which the loss of the battle of Molwitz, and the powerful combination forming under the auspices of France, rendered more necessary than ever. But numerous difficulties arose from the impolitic and temporising conduct of the austrian cabinet, who, at one time deceived by the pacific professions of France, refused to purchase the alliance of Prussia, even by the smallest cession; and at another, alarmed by the threatened combination, offered terms inadequate to the demands of the prussian monarch †. Thus alternately swayed

* It appears from Mr. Walpole's letters to Mr. Trevor, that the importunities of Sir Robert Walpole had extorted the reluctant consent of the king to remain in England, in 1739; and that his unavailing attempts to prevent his majesty's departure, in this still more critical period, considerably affected his health.

† For an account of the conduct of the court of Vienna, during this interesting period, see the House of Austria, v. ii. ch. 20-23.

by hope and fear, the court of Vienna acted neither with vigour nor moderation. At this period a letter from Mr. Walpole to Mr. Robinson will display their delusive hopes and perverse conduct, and the opinion which, from long experience, he entertained of the austrian cabinet.

"DEAR SIR, May 25, (June 5,) 1741.

"Although you will receive and strictly follow such orders and informations for your conduct as are sent you from time to time by those to whose province it belongs; yet, perhaps, you will not be sorry to know the sentiments of an old friend and fellow-labourer, at this critical and important conjuncture, especially with respect to the behaviour of the court where you are employed, and you will, for your amusement only, find them contained in the enclosed papers, A and B, and this letter.

"The purport of the first, in answer to the note delivered to you the beginning of last month, upon his majesty's recommending to the queen of Hungary an accommodation with the king of Prussia, you will have received from the office, with some corroborating motives, added by lord Harrington, to enforce that recommendation; but the detail of the respective strength and forces for and against the pragmatic sanction, according to the measures to be

pursued, being omitted, I thought that part too would not be disagreeable to you. I cannot forbear observing, on this occasion, that the way of reasoning by Mr. Bartenstein*, upon the amicable and confidential communication of his majesty's intelligence, relating to facts upon which the king grounds his instances for an accommodation with Berlin, as if they had no other foundation but an artful imposition and amusement on the part of France, to lead us into wrong notions and measures, astonished every body here, and made them carry their reflections relating to that gentleman to a degree not at all to his honour, nor for the advantage of his court. Indeed the treating the counsels of friends, built upon such solid reasons, with so much indifference and contempt, and with such an air of knowledge and understanding, is the strongest evidence of a very bad, or a very weak mind; or proceeds from a persuasion, that those with whom they treat are destitute of common sense, or so mean and inconsiderable as not to deserve the least regard and attention.

"These are the notions that prevailed here upon considering the paper delivered to you the

* Bartenstein, the austrian referendary, who was employed to draw up the memorials and papers, and, though not of the cabinet, had considerable influence in the conduct of foreign affairs. For an account of this man's singular influence, see History of the House of Austria, v. ii. p. 161.

beginning of April; and you will easily believe that the short, decisive, and peremptory memorial * put into your hands the beginning of this month, will hardly meet with more favourable interpretations. The renewal of his majesty's instances, founded upon undoubted facts, which every day arise and confirm his former intelligence, is treated with the greatest slight and contempt, and, under colour of expressing a grateful sense of his majesty's and the parliament's zeal for the service of the house of Austria, they make the most forced and mistaken interpretations of those proceedings, as if calculated to prevent an accommodation with Prussia. But I shall not enlarge on this subject, because you will find my sentiments fully expressed in the paper B, for your own information only, because you will govern yourself by the orders you will receive from Hanover on this extraordinary performance, which is certainly of a piece with Mr. Bartenstein's probable evidence of the cardinal's having no design to infringe the pragmatic sanction, because he had said, that France shall take no measures *but what are necessary for securing herself*, and will not enter into a war, unless forced into it. This new guaranty of the pacific intentions of that

* A refusal to comply with the king of Prussia's demand of Lower Silesia, including the town of Breslaw.

power would make me smile, had it not so mischievous an effect upon the conduct of your court, whose bigotry, pride and presumption, as if all mankind were made to be subservient to their views, I find, cannot be altered with any alteration of condition or circumstances.

"That ungrateful and ungenerous principle, as if the maritime powers must save the house of Austria for their own sakes, still prevails; and therefore that court may act, insist, refuse, or comply, as their great and superior station and understanding shall dictate, without regard to the sentiments of their allies, who must follow, whether they are, or are not, willing and able. They have already had some reason to believe the contrary. And if they think the nation is so determined to support them as not to have the least concern for their own security; and that the blood and treasure of England must be spent in favour of the august house, preferably to the support and the preservation of their own rights and privileges, both of Europe and America, and that every thing must be abandoned for the sake of the common cause of the pragmatic sanction, they will certainly be mistaken; especially when it will appear evident to all the world, that the queen of Hungary may save her succession by an accommodation with the king of Prussia, and that it

is impossible for the maritime powers, were they ever so willing, to supply the want of the king of Prussia's assistance, and much less to balance the weight of his power in the scale against her.

" Will Mr. Bartenstein's fulsome compliments to the extraordinary zeal of the british nation, or pompous assurance of a readiness in the States to follow so generous an example, increase 300,000*l.* to a million, and make 10,000 men 30,000? Will the flourish of his pen conjure up new forces? Is it not evident that the great load of debts which lie upon England and Holland will not suffer them to make the same efforts as they did in former wars; and that there wants an additional power, which, by his own strength and expence, may supply the deficiency of what the maritime powers could do, and did formerly? This power cannot be found any where but in the king of Prussia, and without him it is impossible to maintain the equilibrium of Europe; when he is engaged, it must be his constant interest to act in concert with those that will act for the common cause; and, without his accession to the cause, I defy any body to shew any practicable scheme to withstand the formidable power of France; for, in this great and general question, the age and pacific temper of the cardinal can-

not be considered. That is a reprieve so dubious and precarious, and may so suddenly vanish, that we must be void of common sense to take any measure from it; and besides, the inability we are under from making the same efforts we formerly did upon the continent, with respect to our own strength and forces, the immense expence we must continue to bear to carry on the war in America, (which must be supported preferably to all other points besides our defence at home,) so much beyond what was employed in those parts during the last two great wars, must be considered; and indeed it is incredible. So that although these are trifles in Mr. Bartenstein's way of thinking, compared with the necessity of supporting the pragmatic sanction, with great deference to his superior understanding, he will soon learn that he knows nothing of the sentiments and language of the british nation, (which he pretends to understand much better than the king and his ministers,) if he continues in that opinion.

"In short, the employing the 12,000 Danes and Hessians, and 300,000*l.* in favour of the house of Austria, in the strictest sense, is not only his majesty's quota, but the utmost effort he can make *totis viribus*, consistent with what is necessary for the security of his own dominions, and for carrying on the war against

Spain in America. But I have troubled you too long with the crude notions of a friend, which you may read at leisure, and lay aside as soon as read; and if you guess at the author, you need only let him know, by a short line, that you received his troublesome epistle, and are willing to pardon, for this time, the trouble he has given you."

"P. S. May 26. Since writing what goes before, advices are received of the backwardness of Russia to march their troops for the support of the pragmatic sanction, occasioned, without doubt, as was foreseen, by the preparations of Sweden, and the fear, in so critical a juncture, of disobliging the king of Prussia. The French have given orders to augment their regular troops with 45,000 men, which will make them 200,000; 30,000 more militia are to be raised, which will make them 60,000. A camp is making near Valenciennes, for 20,000 men.

"I would ask Mr. Bartenstein, whether these steps are taken by France *pour se garantir du mal*, whether she is forced into them? I would ask him again, whether, in case France should encamp 40,000 men on the frontiers of Flanders, which may have at the same time a regard to England as well as Holland, and march 40,000 men towards the Rhine, such motions only, without a blow, would not be such a check to

the present guarantees of the pragmatic sanction, as to make it impossible to expect a sufficient force to act against the king of Prussia? And I would ask, lastly, whether, in case so considerable an army could be got together as even to beat the king of Prussia in Silesia, whether we should be advanced one inch further towards promoting the pragmatic sanction? Nay, whether that prince, by having immediate recourse to an alliance with France, and the enemies of the austrian succession, would not put it in more danger than ever? In the mean time, what can be done, besides having a fleet in the Mediterranean, (where France and Spain, if once united, may soon have a stronger,) to prevent an union between these two powers with the king of Sardinia, (who will certainly get something out of these troubles, and who is offered nothing by the court of Vienna,) and in consequence of that union to prevent the loss of all Italy?"

Such, however, was the infatuation of the austrian cabinet, that they continued to rely on the pacific assurances of France, until her armies had penetrated into Germany; and rejected the urgent remonstrances of the british cabinet, to secure the alliance of Prussia, by the cession of Silesia, until they were overwhelmed by their enemies, and compelled to yield that province

to the prussian monarch, as the purchase of an uncertain neutrality.

During the summer of 1741 Mr. Walpole resigned the place of cofferer of the household, which was held only during pleasure, and was appointed one of the tellers of the exchequer, which, though at that time inferior in profit, yet was more eligible, because it was a place for life.

CHAPTER 23.

1741—1742.

Letters of Mr. Walpole to Mr. Trevor, on the Neutrality of Hanover, on the Feuds in the Cabinet, and on the State of Foreign and Domestic Affairs—Mr. Walpole destroys many of his Papers, on the Resignation of his Brother.

DURING the important summer of 1741, Mr. Walpole maintained a constant and interesting correspondence with Mr. Trevor. Many of these letters are fortunately preserved; they describe the feuds and divisions in the cabinet, contain curious observations on the neutrality of Hanover, and display his opinion on the conduct of foreign affairs.

*Letters from Mr. Walpole to Mr. Trevor**.

" Wolterton, July 15, 1741. I have your favour of the 18th N. S. and heartily congratulate you upon the justice done to your parts and merits at the Hague†. You did the same to my brother, in returning him thanks; for I am persuaded that his offices were earnest, and they had their weight, the king having promised him to do it at Hanover the day before his departure.

* From the Hampden Papers.

† The king was at last prevailed upon to appoint Mr. Trevor, envoy and plenipotentiary, with a salary of 8l. a day.

I can assure you that I had no other merit than good offices, and remembrance of you to my brother. But I pretend to no credit either in public or private matters at court, and the giving me the place of teller for *life* was done grudgingly. I give, when in town, my opinion on foreign matters, in the private conferences; but as it is not always agreeable to narrow electoral views, it is I believe seldom followed, and indeed minded till it is too late; and when it is not agreeable, by what another person hears in the closet about me, care is taken by the reporters to let me have the merit of it. But I should be very easy and contented, and indeed transported, were I never to stir from this place again, provided public affairs were but tolerably well.

" I think there is a fatality attends the house of Austria; and her days seem at last, as well as her power and glory, to be limited. Could any body have imagined, that, after the emperor's death, Bartenstein would have been trusted, and that too continuing under a french influence, and instead of being disgraced, he is more powerful than ever, and that instead of ——— ———*, his regard for France acts more openly in her favour than ever.

" As to the king of Prussia, I have as bad an

* Illegible.

opinion of him as you can have; but we should at least have left him without excuse. And if we had gained him, but for six months, which I really think might have been easily done, that time would have saved the house of Austria and England. For, in the first place, his interest and glory naturally must have led him to an accommodation with Vienna, upon good terms, I own, but not greater than the necessity of the times required; and that he was in earnest to do it, Baron Truchess, who has the best credit with him, was zealously bent upon it, and would have undertaken to have done it; but we were wavering, our views relative to Hanover made us go backwards and forwards, and at last danger and necessity fixed us seriously for a reconciliation. But pride and bigotry will get the better, at the court of Vienna, even of danger and necessity. Had we accommodated even for six months between Austria and Prussia, upon a foot that would have appeared to the world serious, the cardinal, desponding of an alliance with Prussia, would not have taken any one vigorous step either to distract the dominions of Austria, or to divert the imperial crown from the duke of Lorraine. He would have solicited; he would have intrigued; but he would have neither employed men nor money sufficient for that purpose, nor would he have

encouraged or supported, to the degree he has done, Sweden to give trouble to Russia, and to tie up the hands of that powerful friend from acting in favour of the pragmatic sanction. The duke of Lorraine must have been made emperor; and the king of Prussia, in conjunction with the maritime powers, and others who would have been associated to the common cause, must have continued firm to their true interests, if care had been taken to settle by common consent the affairs of Ostfrize, Mecklenburgh, and Berg and Juliers. But we have no great plan in view, or *systéme suivi;* we act by starts or fits: we will have this and that; another shall not have any thing, without giving us what does not belong to us; the Dutch are good for nothing; such a prince is a rascal, and such a minister a rogue; the pride and backwardness of Austria have made all offers and projects now a rope of sand; there are no two powers of a mind, about measures to be taken to save England. Embassador Belle Isle will make the emperor at Frankfort, and marshall Belle Isle will carve out the austrian dominions as he pleases. We must wait to see what part these violent convulsions will take. Adieu."

"Wolterton, August 10, 1741*. I had an

* During the course of the negotiation to conciliate the courts of Vienna and Berlin, the king of Prussia demanded the Aus-

opportunity to run over your conversation with the pensionary and greffier, about giving the Netherlands to the king of Prussia: and am more inclined to the opinion of the first, than to that of my good old friend, for whose experience and judgment I have great deference, and should concur in it on this occasion, if it was a case that deserved, or could wait for, cool deliberation. But if the court of Vienna could have agreed to it without hesitation, the king of Prussia should, in my opinion, have marched immediately a body of troops to the Netherlands, as auxiliaries to her hungarian majesty, and to garrison the towns there for her, without declaring, or letting it all have been known, that there was any agreement or design to alter the property. And I must own to you, I would have had this done without letting our friends

Austrian Netherlands, as the price of his alliance. In a letter to Mr. Trevor, dated Hanover, July 10-30, 1741, lord Harrington acquaints him with this demand, and adds, "The king does not know in what manner the proposal will be received by the austrian court; yet, as it may not be rejected, wishes to know how such a scheme will be relished in Holland. He orders Mr. Trevor to give a general account of what had passed, between the king of Prussia and lord Hyndford, to the pensionary and greffier, and send their thoughts on this new demand, taking care, however, not to leave them to think it is a notion encouraged by his majesty."

Mr. Trevor executed this delicate commission with extreme address, and transmitted an account of his conference, in a dispatch to lord Harrington, dated August 11, 1741, to which Mr. Walpole alludes.

the Dutch into it, and have afterwards turned the matter into a negociation: that is to say, the queen of Hungary should, upon the Prussians marching that way, let the States know, not time enough for them to have prevented it, or to have given France notice of it, that his prussian majesty had lent her a certain body of troops to garrison those places; she being obliged to employ her own forces in defence of the pragmatic sanction in other parts. I was thrown in a heap, when I found lord Harrington had given you orders to talk to any of the deputies upon it, lest France, by getting notice of it, should have attacked the Low Countries! This matter is now over; but the only great and insuperable difficulty I find in the whole affair, (not but there are many difficulties, considering the necessity of the case,) was the incompatibility of making a Protestant prince governor and master of so bigoted a country as the Netherlands, which the roman catholics would never suffer to be done."

"Wolterton, August 22, 1741. I am favoured with yours of the 22d instant, N. S. I have indeed been in London, on particular business; and, while I was there, assisted at several conferences relating to the present dismal situation of affairs, which are so bad, indeed, from several causes too tedious to mention, that I could not pretend to suggest a remedy; and

the state of the administration separated at such a distance, and I am afraid with such different views in the conduct of affairs, made it not reasonable for me to expect that my opinion could be of weight enough to be followed.

" Lord Harrington's correspondence is governed by all the art and skill of an old courtier. He discovers his master's desires, without explaining them freely and in confidence to others here, or giving his own opinion upon them : he pretends to leave the decision of questions proposed to others here ; which questions he states in so strong a manner as puts them under a dilemma of either disobliging the king, or giving an opinion they think perhaps not for the interest of their country ; so that it is very likely that his majesty will return again, as he did last year, in no good humour with his servants here. In the mean time, the notions of things and measures are not uniform on this side of the water. Popularity, and pomp, and glory of old just and honourable principles, with regard to the liberties and the balance of Europe, and the freedom of our commerce, are carried on by some with a vehemence and extension beyond what the abilities and powers of this country can bear ; so that there is no time to think coolly, or to act with uniformity. Pardon this digression, which is to yourself alone. My heart is full !"

" Wolterton, Sept. 12, 1741. I have your favour of the 12th instant; and although I am extremely concerned, I am not at all surprised at the melancholy news you send me, because it is no more than a natural and obvious consequence of the fatal step, in not having gained the king of Prussia, and having suffered him, in consequence, to fling himself into an alliance with, and even into the power of, France. However bad, uncertain, and unaccountable, the natural disposition of the king of Prussia might be, the securing of him only for this year, in favour of the pragmatic sanction, would have established the succession, and have chosen, if the allies pleased, the duke of Lorraine emperor. Had the king of Prussia been gained, the cardinal, we know it for certain, would not have sent three millions of florins to enable Sweden to begin the war against Russia; Russia would consequently have been able to send 30,000 men for the service of the queen of Hungary; the elector of Saxony, who has acted indeed a loose part from the beginning, encompassed by Hanover, Prussia, and Russia, must have followed the views and motives of those powers; the cardinal, who, until he had gained Prussia, pretended that he would not oppose the pragmatic sanction, would not have marched a man towards the Meuse, Munster, &c. nor trusted an

army to the conduct of the elector of Bavaria. In short, the queen of Hungary's allies would have formed so compact and powerful a body on all sides, that they might have done what they pleased in the choice of an emperor, as France will, and must, do now what she pleases; and I have not at all doubted, from the time the queen of Hungary refused to satisfy the king of Prussia's demands, and, what is the same thing, from the time the king of Prussia had signed a treaty with France, but this last power would march where she pleases, and chuse what emperor she pleases, which will soon be, and without opposition, the elector of Bavaria. In the mean time our friends the Dutch will act and talk by starts and fits, and, like a body over-run with complicated distempers, be agitated by various passions, or hopes, fear and despair intermixt, sometimes with the appearance of some short-lived spirit and vigour; and therefore, in this convulsed state of Europe, while the king of Prussia is so tied to France, and to the allies of France, I always consider what you hint at, and has been suggested, I suppose, to you from another quarter, of a neutrality with Prussia, as a mere phantom, that could signify nothing. Should the king of Prussia agree not to let his troops attack the electorate of Hanover, or to be employed on

that side, then he would have more troops to employ elsewhere against the queen of Hungary, and perhaps the electorate of Hanover would not be attacked. But, would not the French and the troops of Cologne keep the electoral forces, the hired Danes and Hessians, in check, and make them entirely useless to the common cause?

"What do you mean by saying, *had a spirit appeared in England to act up to the late addresses with respect to the electorate?* I must own, dear Trevor, I don't well conceive now how that would have disposed the Dutch to have been more attentive to that quarter. When the alarm came from Hanover, of the dangers that threatened those parts, 12,000 men were offered to be sent over. Why they were not sent for, or what they would have signified had they gone, I must own I don't see. But you know, my good friend, that the Dutch were diverted from any attention for Hanover, by that having been made the first and principal condition of our acting at setting out in the beginning, which order was sent to you with the knowledge of no other minister but him that sent it, till it was gone and executed; and therefore don't impute any backwardness of the Dutch, with regard to Hanover, to the want of spirit in England for the support of those parts. That is not want-

ing; it would have followed of course, had our primary views and actions been levelled and directed to the true point. But it is too late to look back, as well as disagreeable to you and me."

"Wolterton, Sept. 19, 1741. O.S. I am favoured with yours of the 22d, and I find by what you say, as well as from what I hear from other quarters, that the news of the conclusion of the Hanover neutrality was premature, but am of opinion, that, however lord Harrington may palliate the matter for the present, it will certainly be done; and although we are, on this side of the water, entirely strangers to this whole transaction, and must acquiesce in it; yet I am still surprised, besides being concerned at the thing itself, (as you as well as myself may be, for several reasons,) why you are under such uneasiness at the unjust reproaches of friends or enemies at the Hague. Indeed it is not pleasant being minister at a place where the people, with whom business is to be transacted, are out of humour at our master; but it is some comfort to be able to shew them, that *they* have no reason to be out of humour at what has happened. And how the pensionary can call it a *private bargain*, or piece of jockeyship, I can't imagine. He may be sorry for it, and see the inconveniences of it; but then his reproaches

should fall upon his own people, and not upon the elector of Hanover, much less upon the king of England, (for I believe you still think it was concerted in England, which it was not,) though that is not a proper defence to be made on your side.

" But I desire you will ask the pensionary, not by way of quarrel, but in a friendly manner, these plain questions. Did not the king of Prussia form an army of 30,000 of observation towards Magdeburgh, in order to check or attack the elector of Hanover? For what? why, according to the part our king should act in favour of the pragmatic sanction. Why are the french army to be joined by Palatines and Cologners, &c. marched towards Munster and Westphalia, in order to keep in check, or perhaps to attack, the electorate of Hanover? For what? why, for the part he has acted as king, by his speeches in parliament, in support of the pragmatic sanction, which the States should equally by virtue of the same treaty support. And, have the States taken one step towards that support, or to defend those that might be attacked for doing what they should do themselves? Will you ask of the pensionary, whether the king, when he found that 50,000 men were marching, without opposition, against him as elector, and he could not depend on above

30,000 to oppose them, considering the behaviour of the Danes, and the desertion of Saxony, should have stood the shock, and ventured to engage against so powerful a force on such unequal terms? And, therefore, although you must say nothing for or against as suggested by me, (I am no minister, nor am I capable of giving you advice,) yet I cannot but be concerned to see you at a loss to know what to say to our friends, which is to encourage them to take heart against those in the republic that have by their dilatory managing, selfish principles, been the occasion of it; and let them see, what you hint at yourself, their scandalous behaviour in shewing plainly that they should suffer the king as elector to be torn in pieces, without giving him the least assistance to prevent his ruin, and yet reproach him for using the only means to prevent it. Therefore, the pensionary may be made sensible, that, as the king in February last asked for the assistance of the States to support him as elector, and they refused to give it him, that was the reason why the king was not able, though supported by England, with the 12,000 Danes and Hessians, to resist the powerful enemies that were in the march to attack him; and therefore obliged to have recourse to the only means of salvation, which was neutrality; and, ask the pensionary what

other means of salvation was left for him, I believe he will not be able to tell you.

" But I have done on this melancholy subject. It would indeed be a fortunate thing if this neutrality was not concluded, considering the advantage the Russians have obtained over the Swedes. But the post stays, I have not time to read over my letter. Pardon the faults!"

" Sept. 16, 1741, O. S. The foreign dispatches having followed my brother and Mr. H. Pelham into the country, I have had an opportunity of perusing them, and yours among the rest, as far as the 12th of this month, N. S. I read what you had said to the pensionary upon his notable confidence, that the States intended to take no resolution of increase of vigour, until the season of action was over; and I intended to have troubled you with some thoughts, to shew that preparations and motions were the only way to make the cardinal halt, whose vigour was always raised in proportion to the indolence, inactivity, and fear of his neighbours; but the receipt of yours of the 19th has called forth another question.

" I do not in the least doubt but Mr. Van Hoey's news of a neutrality between Hanover and Versailles, and the allies of the last, with regard to Germany, is true; for no other neutrality (viz. with Prussia) could have signified a

farthing. And by some expressions in your letter, of the resentment it has occasioned with you against England, and what you hinted in a former letter, of our not acting up to the addresses with respect to the electorate, it looks as if some thought, and that you had given into the thought, (viz.) that this neutrality was transacted, or encouraged, or occasioned, by concert with the ministry here, and from an unwillingness on their side to support the elector of Hanover, and the torrent of your agony and reflections seems to flow from that supposition; than which nothing is more groundless, let your intelligence come from any quarter whatsoever. That intimation may have been artfully flung out, 'tis evident with what design; but it is not true.

" You yourself know, that the security of Hanover, instead of being made the consequence of measures and operations, was always put foremost. By a particular confidence between lord Harrington and the king, that point has employed, since their journey to Hanover, solely their attention there; and no confidence, no concert of measures, taken with the ministry here; but after things have been resolved by hanoverian counsels, ensnaring questions have been sent, and asked, to procure a justification, from hence, of what was resolved before at the

place from whence these questions came, but particularly in regard to a neutrality. It was at first intimated to be made with Prussia only, and then darkly hinted to be made with all the enemies of the house of Austria, (finding, I suppose, that the thoughts of doing it with Prussia only, so allied as the king was, must be impracticable or absurd.) Our fear increasing at Hanover, from the french motions, a question was asked, what assistance could be sent from hence to prevent the ruin of the electorate? (and I dare say the resolution for a neutrality, in one shape or other, was then actually taken, and far advanced;) intimating, that, without a sufficient assistance, there was no way for salvation besides that of a neutrality. The answer returned was, that 12,000 men were ready, and would immediately be sent upon the first notice of his majesty's commands; but that no more than 12,000 could be spared from hence; and if it was not sufficient, the ministry here would not pretend to interfere in what his majesty might think necessary for the defence of his dominions abroad. Soon after I hear no requisition was made of these 12,000 men, but more questions asked, of so intricate a nature as received no other answer than the desire of his majesty's immediate return to England.

"During this transaction, emissaries were

sent to Saxony and Prussia, with instructions of real confidence in the first, that has been constantly playing the rogue, and with submissive and feigned good-will towards the last : and at last one was sent to Paris, whose errand and instructions have been, and are still, a mystery to every body here. But they have, as it was natural to suppose, produced this neutrality.

" Surely, after all I have said, you will not call it a creature or child of England. I was a little concerned, I own, to see the tenour of your letters point that way. Far from being of opinion that the addresses in favour of the electorate should not be supported when I was in town, it was the unanimous opinion that they should, in the strongest and most effectual manner, but no questions were ever asked, until it was plain that the resolution of what shall be done was already taken; and therefore the resentment against England on this head is entirely unjust.

" But, having said this much in great confidence, which you will easily believe, from the nature of it, I would not have said to any body else whatsoever besides yourself, I must own, on the other side, that I think the Dutch, whether friends or enemies, have no just reason to complain; and I think, when it is proper, and you have suitable orders for that purpose, you

may easily shew them how much they are in the wrong to censure this conduct, considering their behaviour.

"They were fairly asked, from the beginning, whether they looked upon Hanover to be included in our alliances, and what they would do in support of it, should the case exist? They were afterwards pressed to speak and act with vigour, jointly with us, on this great occasion of the emperor's death. They indeed seemed to have spirit at first against the king of Prussia, not for the sake of the pragmatic sanction, but lest that prince should thwart the particular views of Amsterdam. But this magnanimity soon dwindled into nothing; the principle which chiefly prevailed was, not to appear to act in confidence and concert with England without regard to Hanover; although it was evident that the resentment of Prussia, against the king as elector, was on account of the part he was acting, as king, in behalf of the house of Austria. But England lost no time in providing 12,000 men, Hessians and Danes, their contingent for the queen of Hungary, and added 300,000*l.* which, I will be bold to say, was acting immediately *totis viribus*, considering the expence we were obliged to be at for supporting the war against Spain. During all this time, what one step did the Dutch take for the

pragmatic sanction, or for Hanover, if attacked on that account, or in concert with England? His majesty, at the same time, used his utmost and earnest endeavours to reconcile the courts of Vienna and Prussia. The States liked that, because it tended to peace, and made it a handle not to furnish their quota; but their ministers nowhere joined or concurred in that pacific measure, for fear of disobliging somebody or other, or of being thought to act in concert with England, although they are parties to the† * * * * treaty, by which our mutual obligations exist with respect to the present juncture. Nor did they make the least step towards furnishing their quota, as they are obliged to do by virtue of every treaty, when ours was ready; but, with much ado, seemed disposed (although they have not that option by treaty,) to give it in money, which is not yet done, and must come so late as cannot possibly be of any service.

"This being the case, they have not made the least motion or overture in favour of the pragmatic sanction, in concert with England, nor towards serving Hanover, when it was likely to be over-run with French, Palatines, Cologues, and Prussians, purely on account of

† Illegible.

what the king was doing, as king, in support of the cause which they are equally obliged to defend. For God's sake, with what face can either friends or enemies in Holland make as great an outcry as on the *separation of troops in* 1712? Separation from whom? From those that would never act either in arms or council with us. It is very possible the republicans may be loudest against what they like, and by that means push the neutrality to the Low Countries; (I always thought a Hanover neutrality would be followed by that there) but the States have indeed acted with the most perfect neutrality ever since the emperor's death. And because the elector of Hanover was necessitated to save his own dominions, for the preservation of which the States would not give one man or one farthing; therefore England, that has made the greatest effort she could, and as much as she was obliged to make for a cause in which the States, both in interest and obligation, are equally concerned, must be abused, and be the occasion of the States taking a step that must entirely put an end to all their obligations.

"This way of reasoning, or rather railing, is abominable with regard to England; (and although, as I said at first, I don't approve, between you and me, the conduct at Hanover,) I

can't see how any one man in Holland can find fault with it, since it was chiefly occasioned by their own behaviour; and therefore, dear Trevor, however the king be reproached *for having broke company*—What company?—It cannot be said to be the Dutch, for he has never had their company, and was not likely ever to have it in time, or to any purpose; and that you seem to say, by adding, that if the news of the neutrality be false, you are not the nearer in having their company. What company has the king then broke? he had 20,000 men of his hanoverian troops; he expected to have 12,000 Hessians and Danes; but it was plain the first would not march. He depended upon 9000 Saxons; there too he would have been deceived. He pressed, all he could, a reconciliation between Vienna and Berlin, which the stubbornness of the first disappointed. In the mean time 45,000 French, Palatines, &c. are marching in full career to attack him, personally, at Hanover; and what do the Dutch do? The march of such numbers of french troops, in their very neighbourhood, alarms them, which occasions half a dozen warm speeches in the assembly of Holland; and all this ends in nothing but taking measures to prevent civil broils at home.

" Is there any man in Holland reproaches

the king with what he has done, not only as king, (in which capacity he has acted up to his obligations,) but even as elector? Whoever he is, he must be, dear Trevor, the most impudent fellow I ever heard; yet I am sure I am as good a dutchman as any foreigner can be, and a great deal better than the F——h and Van——dayn, who are pensioners to France, or than H——n, who is a mad republican, and would sacrifice his own country, and England, to die a martyr for that cause.

"After having said all this, I am persuaded it is but poor satisfaction to think that the States can not reproach us, who are ten times more reproachable than even Hanover, (for England has done her duty,) and that altercations and expostulations between two friends, whose ruin or safety depend upon their entire union or separation, will only serve to hasten the first; and you will, I desire you will, look upon this whole letter as private sentiments only, flowing from a concern to see that you think yourself at a loss to know what to say to the unjust reproaches that some may make on account of the hanoverian neutrality. I don't doubt but lord Harrington will be able to instruct you sufficiently on that head; and our friends must be destitute of common humanity and charity, if they want arguments of recrimi-

nation to fling in the teeth of our enemies, who would revile us for a step which they themselves have been the occasion of. But you will pardon the familiarity of this hasty scrawl, which is much longer than I intended, from a flow of sentiments, and in consequence of words that came in as I was writing.

" Your's most affectionately and for ever."

" You will burn this; but I cannot help adding, that I hope, now the affair of the empire is over; our friends in Holland will think of means of saving the maritime powers, or let us know fairly whether each nation is to take care of itself."

" Nov. 27, 1741. I own I was a good deal concerned at the humble and submissive conclusion of our good old friend's answer to the complaint of Fenelon, relating to the supposed spurious treaty between France and Bavaria; the best answer, in my opinion, would have been to desire to have seen the *real treaty;* but we have not spirit enough to speak in that style. But, if my friends will believe me, a steady and firm language * * * * in terms not at all offensive for their own security, and for acting in concert with their allies, to have the same engagements, and the same common cause for preserving the liberties of Europe, would have a greater effect upon the cardinal, than the most servile flattery

and complaisance. For, as long as his eminence thinks he can get the better by appearances, without running the hazard of a blow, he will be led by others in France so far as to make it impossible to recoil, and they will force him to strike when he never intended it. And let Amelot scatter his menaces as much as he pleases, if the States shew they have no effect to divert them from strengthening themselves, nor to hurry them into a neutral and indifferent state, the cardinal will soon make Amelot hold his tongue, or a milder language. I speak from a knowledge of the man." * * * *

Soon after the date of this letter, the king returned to England, and opened the new parliament, which was followed by the resignation of Sir Robert Walpole*.

I find no documents or papers in the Walpole Collection relative to this event. Mr. Walpole had long perceived and lamented the decline of his brother's influence, the perpetual bickerings with the duke of Newcastle, and the increasing feuds in the cabinet. He had repeatedly urged him to resign, particularly at the commencement of the Spanish disputes, when he might have retired with dignity and honour. But the natural attachment which Sir Robert Walpole

* Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole, ch. 59.

felt for long possessed authority, and the repeated exhortations of the king not to desert him at so critical an emergency, prevailed over this prudent advice; and the minister remained in power until he was driven from his post by a triumphant opposition.

It is, indeed, a matter of extreme regret to all lovers of history, that Mr. Walpole terminated his Apology for his own conduct, soon after his embassy at the Hague. He returned to England at a most critical time, when the violence of parties had arrived almost to the highest point; when the unsuccessful operations in the West Indies began to render the war with Spain unpopular, and involved in that unpopularity the whole administration, even the minister who had opposed hostilities; when the violent struggles took place for the new elections on the dissolution of parliament; when his brother, secretly undermined by several members of the cabinet, deserted by many who called themselves his friends, and borne down by a strong opposition supported by the prince of Wales, was finally compelled to resign.

The cabals to form a new administration, the separation of the heterogeneous parts which composed the opposition, the efforts to bring the ex-minister to the block, and the secret means by which those efforts were defeated,

would have received new light from the pen of Mr. Walpole. It is probable that the delicacy of the subject restrained him from committing to paper events of such moment, in which the reputation, and even life of his brother were at stake, and in which the characters of so many persons were involved.

But, perhaps, the springs of these events might have been traced from his papers and correspondence, had not the sanguinary spirit of that party, which pursued the minister to destruction, compelled Mr. Walpole to sacrifice numerous documents of the most interesting nature, to his brother's safety. As the enemies of Sir Robert Walpole seemed desirous to impute to him alone all the measures pursued during his continuance in office, apprehensions were justly entertained lest orders should be issued, by the committee of secrecy, for seizing the papers, not only of the minister himself, but even those of his brother. It became, therefore, prudent to destroy those documents which might, perhaps, involve the ex-minister in difficulties and danger. Accordingly Mr. Walpole went down to Wolterton and burned numerous papers, particularly a great part of the private correspondence between himself and his brother, and other papers relating to this important period.

CHAPTER 24.

1743—1744.

Mr. Walpole supports the Vote of Supply for the Maintenance of the Hanoverian Troops, and opposes the Motion for their Dismission—Divided State of the Ministry—Motives of his Conduct—Mr. Pelham appointed First Lord of the Treasury, and Chancellor of the Exchequer—His Character—Attempt of the French to invade England—Zeal of the Parliament and Nation.

THE first public measure which called for the exertions of Mr. Walpole, after the resignation of his brother, was the motion made in the house of commons, the 10th of December 1742, by Sir William Yonge, to grant the sum of 265,190*l.* to his majesty, for defraying the charge of 16,000 hanoverian troops in the pay of Great Britain.

This motion was ably combated by Pitt, Waller, and lord Quarendon, who expatiated on the usual topics of declamation, that, since the accession of the house of Brunswick, the helm of the British government had been uniformly guided by the Hanover rudder. It was extremely embarrassing to those members of the new administration who had vehemently opposed the measures of Sir Robert Walpole, as

wholly subservient to the interests of Hanover. Mr. Sandys, chancellor of the exchequer, gave a silent vote in favour of the question; but lord Percival*, in direct contradiction to his former principles, defended it with great ability.

Mr. Walpole opposed the violent invective against Hanover with an assertion equally positive, though, perhaps, equally ungrounded; that in no one instance had the interests of England been sacrificed to the interests of Hanover, but, on the contrary, the interests of Hanover had always been subservient to those of England. It must be confessed, that he maintained his position with extreme address, and supported his assertions with a luminous deduction of facts, from the treaty of Utrecht to the period in question. It would be needless to follow him through this long deduction; but I cannot withhold a passage of his speech, which exhibits the question of hiring foreign forces in its true light, independent of parties, time, and circumstances.

"I have as good, and perhaps as just an opinion of our naval force, and of the bravery of our seamen, as any gentleman; but let us recollect what a figure France made at sea towards the latter end of the last century, and even in

* Afterwards Earl of Egmont, and author of the famous political pamphlet, "Faction Detected."

the last war, during the reign of queen Anne. If we had then had no assistance from the Dutch, we should not perhaps have found ourselves such an over-match for the French at sea, as some people imagine we are; and yet, during all that time, she kept up most numerous armies at land. What then have we to expect, should the whole treasure and strength of France, or the greatest part of both, be turned towards gaining a superiority, or at least an equality at sea? In the two last wars*, we gained, it is true, by the help of the Dutch, several great naval victories over the French; but it was not altogether by those victories we beat them out of that element. If I may be allowed the expression, by land we beat them out of the sea. We obtained so great and so many victories at land, that they were forced to neglect their sea affairs, in order to apply their whole strength, both in money and men, to defend their country, I may say their capital. Therefore, if both France and Spain should join in a war against us, and we should have no one to assist us, nor they any enemy to fear at land, I would not have gentlemen vainly imagine that we should be in no danger of losing our superiority, even upon our own element; and if

* Namely, during the reigns of king William and queen Anne.

we did, what dreadful consequences should we not have to apprehend!"*

Besides this speech, Mr. Walpole, in an animated reply to Mr. Pitt, adverted to some virulent pamphlets, which at this time deluged the public, and to which a contemporary historian alludes: "All these topics were blazoned out to the public, in a set of the most flagitious and indecent writings that ever appeared in England. The press did not now, as formerly, point at the minister alone, but at his master, because of his double capacity of king and elector, and the people were, on that account, heated to distraction. It was easily foreseen, that if the opposition within doors should continue to be as strong as it was in the preceding session, the consequences to the internal peace of the kingdom might be fatal; and this consideration was the more serious, because a secret spirit of discontent began now to insinuate itself into some of the officers of the army, both at home and abroad, upon account of the hanoverian troops†."

* Chandler's Debates, vol. 14, p. 131. The speech of Mr. Walpole, on this occasion, was given in several periodical publications, and is preserved in Chandler. I have no doubt of its authenticity, as several of his other speeches, in the subsequent debates, appear to have been published verbatim from copies in his own hand-writing, which are among his papers. The argument of this speech is well worthy consideration at the present time.

† Tindal, vol. 20, p. 589.

Among the pamphlets here alluded to, "The Case of the Hanover Forces in the Pay of Great Britain," written by the earl of Chesterfield and Mr. Waller, made the greatest impression on the public mind, and called forth from Mr. Walpole his celebrated answer, "The Interest of Great Britain steadily pursued," which, in the space of three weeks, passed through three editions, and was of considerable service in removing the prejudices excited by the declamations of opposition.

At this period the king and his ministers felt the value of such essential services; for the war had now become unpopular, a rupture with France was unavoidable, and the motley administration, who had succeeded Sir Robert Walpole, were weak, and divided among themselves; all, except lord Carteret, disliked by the king, and all without the confidence of the nation.

The ministry were divided into two principal parties. The first was formed of those who had acted under Sir Robert Walpole; the duke of Newcastle, secretary of state for the southern department, Mr. Pelham, pay-master of the forces, lord chancellor Hardwicke, the earl of Harrington, president of the council; and this phalanx was supported by the dukes of Dorset, Richmond, Montague and Grafton. On the opposite side were lord Carteret, secretary of

state for the northern department, the earl of Winchelsea, first lord of the admiralty, earl Gower, privy seal, and Mr. Sandys, chancellor of the exchequer; their subordinate co-adjutors, were the duke of Bolton, and the marquis of Tweedale. The earl of Wilmington, first lord of the treasury, was little more than a cypher, being in an infirm state of health, and wholly devoted to the king. The duke of Argyle was timid, and fluctuated between both parties with his usual versatility.

From the formation of the ministry, on the resignation of Sir Robert Walpole, the duke of Newcastle and lord Carteret had struggled for ascendancy. Had great talents, a decisive spirit, and the favour of the sovereign, influenced the contest, the scale would have preponderated on the side of Carteret; but he possessed the attachment of no party, and had little influence in either house of parliament, besides what was derived from his abilities as a speaker; while the duke of Newcastle was the chief leader of the Whigs, was seconded by the abilities of his brother Mr. Pelham, and supported by the weight and sterling sense of lord chancellor Hardwicke. He was likewise aided by the secret influence of the earl of Orford, who prevailed on the king to place Mr. Pelham at the head of the treasury, on the death of the earl of

Wilmington, in opposition to the earnest solicitations of Carteret, in favour of his friend and patron the earl of Bath*. This nomination took place while George the Second was reposing himself after his victory at Dettingen, and while he was conducting, through the medium of lord Carteret, those complicated negotiations which terminated in the treaty of Worms. The appointment of Mr. Pelham was so unexpected, even to the duke of Newcastle, that he expressed his surprise in a letter to lord chancellor Hardwicke:

"Whitehall, Tuesday night, 11 o'clock†.

"MY DEAR LORD,

"This evening a messenger arrived from the army with the enclosed agreeable, but most surprising news. I send you all I know of it, and beg you would send the letters back to me by this messenger, when you have read them. My friend Carteret's letter to my brother is a manly one; and that to me, in many parts of it, has the appearance of a kind one. *It is plain we have got the better of him*, and our master has been *surprisingly* firm; but what has produced this, just at this time, I am at a loss to conceive. The use we are to make of it, and

* See Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole, chap. 62.

† Without date of the year or month, but endorsed by lord Hardwicke, "August 23, 1743, at night." Hardwicke Papers.

the answers, both private and public, will require great and immediate consideration. Mr. Scrope will carry the warrant through the several offices forthwith; but perhaps (though I scarce believe it) Mr. Sandy's, &c. may resign, and then there may not be a board, except Gybbon and G. Compton will remain, though the other two quit."

This appointment gave no less pleasure to the Walpole party, and Mr. Fox writes to Sir Charles Hanbury Williams, "A warrant is just come to appoint Mr. Pelham first commissioner of the Treasury. Huzza!"* "Downing-street house looks well, and *un honnête homme* may again go into it†."

Soon after the meeting of parliament Mr. Sandys was created a peer, and the office of chancellor of the exchequer conferred on Mr. Pelham, who was from this time considered as the leader of the house of commons.

Henry Pelham was second son of Thomas lord Pelham, by lady Grace, fourth daughter of Gilbert Holles earl of Clare, and sister to John duke of Newcastle. He was born in 1696, and, being of a Whig family, closely attached himself to the partisans of the Brunswick line, and dis-

* Thursday night, 11 o'clock. Hanbury Papers.
† October 9, 1744.

Dear Lord your Lordships most
obedient and faithfull serv.t

H. Pelham

THE Rt HONBLE HENRY PELHAM.

From an Original in the Possession of Cresset Pelham Esq.r

tinguished himself against the rebels * as a captain of dragoons in the regiment of major-general Dormer. At the age of twenty-one, in 1718, he obtained a seat in parliament, first for the borough of Seaford in Sussex, and afterwards for the county, which he continued to represent, till his death. Before his nomination to the treasury, he had filled the offices of secretary at war and pay-master of the forces.

Mr. Pelham displayed, in his respective offices, great method and application to business; in his first efforts in parliament, he was confused and inelegant, but improved by practice, and became an able debater †; and, to use the expressions of lord Chesterfield, "spoke with a certain candour and openness that made him well heard, and generally believed." He managed the finances with extreme care and probity, and with as much economy as was compatible with the profuse expenditure of public money,

* As many engravings have been given of Mr. Pelham in the latter period of his life, I have preferred a portrait which represents him at the age of 21, when he was captain of dragoons, and which is in the possession of Cresset Pelham, esq.

† He is mentioned in a contemporary publication "as the most genteel speaker in the house of commons: yet the elegance of his style did not weaken the force of his reasoning. He carefully avoided all personal reflection, and though zealously attached to the minister, was never known to incur the ill-will of any party." Gent. Mag. 1740, p. 230

which the system of foreign affairs, adopted by his brother, had rendered necessary; he also gained great popularity and credit by reducing the interest of the national debt. He was inferior to his brother, in quickness of apprehension; but had a sounder judgment, and more accommodating temper, which enabled him to unite and keep together the discordant parts of the heterogeneous administration. As a public character he was extremely popular, and in domestic life was highly beloved and respected. Mr. Walpole entertained a strong partiality in favour of Mr. Pelham, and uniformly supported his administration; their friendship was heightened by the conformity of their characters*, and their mutual tendency to pacific measures. They maintained a frequent and confidential correspondence, in which Mr. Walpole delivered his opinion with his usual frankness and spirit.

* The firm, honest, and friendly character of Mr. Pelham will appear from a confidential letter to Mr. Walpole:

"Esher-place, Dec. 25, 1752. * * * * * * I did speak to a certain person in favour of lord Orford some days before I left London, taking the liberty of saying that it was a reproach to his majesty's ministers, if not a little to the *king himself*, that your brother's grandson should so long remain unprovided for, which was taken in a right manner. But my applications to his majesty have generally proved unsuccessful, particularly of late, which, from former precedents, I conclude proceeds from my asking nothing but what to me appears for his majesty's service. I

Mr. Walpole again displayed his zeal in the next session, when the discontents of the nation rose to an extraordinary height; and the question for the continuance of the Hanover troops in British pay agitated parliament with as much violence as any question during his brother's administration. The public were inflamed with the most violent imputations of the king's partiality to his native troops, who were stigmatized with cowardice, insolence, and disobedience. On these motives lord Stair resigned the command of the army, the duke of Marlborough his commission of major-general, and numerous officers, who served at the battle of Dettingen, were prepared to support these assertions by evidence before the house of commons. The disgust of the army spread rapidly among the nation, and the very name of a Hanoverian became a term of reproach.

These discontents were rendered highly dan-

wish he may not repent too late, for I fear he will find great inconveniences from taking personal prejudices to the first families in England. Whilst I am in his service I will say what I think; but we all wear out; I hope I shall not fall into that common trap, of being the last discoverer of when it is time to give over. My friends may and do convince me it is pretty near; my enemies may teaze, but, thank God, can't hurt me. I enjoy Esher with pleasure; the weather is fine, and though I am at present alone, I find reflection sits very easy upon my mind. I am, dear Horace, ever most affectionately yours."

gerous by the disunion of the ministry, which arose from the overbearing behaviour of lord Carteret. During the course of his complicated negotiations in Germany, he seldom corresponded with the ministers in England; and when he condescended to write to them, his letters conveyed little more than the details which appeared in the next gazette.

"Your lordship," writes the duke of Newcastle to lord Hardwicke, after giving an account of foreign news, "will see that these, and indeed all our accounts, are from private hands; and I can never write or think upon this obstinate and offensive silence, without expressing both my surprise and my resentment*." "The long and obstinate silence," observes lord Hardwicke in answer, "of your brother Carteret, is most surprising and unaccountable; for my own part, I have been so much used to it, that I live here a country gentleman, without expecting any lights from thence."

The deference of Carteret to the prejudices of the king drew on him the odium of being the sole promoter of german measures, and even to his intervention was imputed the inactivity of the allies after the battle of Dettingen. Not only the opposition, but the ministers who were

* Clermont, Oct. 1, 1743.

called upon to support him, considered his plans as romantic, impracticable and destructive, and those measures which he obstructed were denominated *strictly english*. The Pelham party in the cabinet adopted these sentiments in their full latitude. The chancellor refused to put the seal to a convention with the king of Sardinia, explanatory of the treaty of Worms; and though lord Carteret declared that the king should affix it himself, yet the matter was debated in the cabinet council, and various alterations, proposed by the Pelhams, carried by a majority of five*.

But the measure to which they were most adverse, was the continuance of the hanoverian troops in the british pay, and to which, till a few days before the meeting of parliament, they had determined to refuse their support, with a view to acquire popularity, to humiliate Carteret, and to further a reconciliation with the Tories†.

* FOR THE ALTERATIONS.	AGAINST ALTERATIONS.
Lord Chancellor Hardwicke,	Lord Carteret,
Lord President Harrington,	Lord Winchelsea,
Duke of Newcastle,	Lord Tweedale,
Duke of Dorset,	Duke of Bolton.
Duke of Richmond,	
Duke of Montague,	
Duke of Argyle, (rather doubtful)	
Duke of Grafton,	
Mr. Pelham.	

Lord Hardwicke's Parl. Journal.

† The duke of Newcastle to lord Hardwicke, Nov. 7, 1743.—Hardwicke Papers.

The influence of lord Orford suspended a rupture in the cabinet, and prevented this public insult to the king: he prevailed on the Pelhams to acquiesce in the measure, and obtained the support of his personal friends in parliament. Mr. Walpole warmly espoused his brother's sentiments, and was peculiarly useful on this important occasion, during the absence of Mr. Pelham, who had vacated his seat on his recent promotion, and did not reassume it until several of the debates, on this subject were concluded.

The session began on the 1st of December; and in the first debate, the conduct of the allied forces at the battle of Dettingen, and the king's partiality to the Hanoverians, were made a subject of invective. Lord Carteret was severely censured, and Mr. Pitt styled him "an execrable, a sole minister, who had renounced the british nation, and seemed to have drunk of the potion described in poetic fictions, which made men forget their country."

Soon after this debate, Mr. Walpole, in a confidential letter to Mr. Trevor, described the divided state of the cabinet, and displayed the principles on which he and his party supported the measures of government.

"DEAR SIR, Cockpit, Dec. 13, 1743, O. S.

"It is not very proper, nor indeed very easy, to give you an account, in writing, of our domestic

affairs; one* part of the ministry is so enterprising and bold, as to think all difficulties trifles; and the other† so timid, as to think trifles insuperable difficulties. The first treats the last with the utmost contempt, and the last would be acting to get rid of the first, even at the hazard of the public. These divisions naturally encourage and give spirit to the opponents, and consequently will make it a troublesome sessions. The question proposed for dismissing the Hanoverians might have been caried in the negative by a greater majority, if any pains had been taken for the purpose; and yet perhaps, if it is resolved that a certain person‡ is to go abroad in the spring, the question for those troops, when proposed in a proper and seasonable time, may meet with difficulty to pass unless great pains be taken.

" In the mean time the old friends of the landlord take no other part but that of supporting the mansion-house on this side the water; and although they could wish that the cottage on the other side was less regarded, and more affection was shewn to the tenants here; yet they cannot abandon their old master and his family, though they think the favourite steward

* Lord Carteret. † The duke of Newcastle.

‡ The king.

acts with too much arrogance and presumption; and the exigency of affairs will not suffer an enquiry into his conduct at present, which some sanguine young tenants are too forward in, not considering that they will endanger the whole by precipitation at this juncture.

" As to the conduct of a top tenant at leaving his farm, I think nothing but the utmost necessity can excuse the step he has taken."

Mr. Walpole did not speak in this debate for the address, and but slightly on Mr. Waller's motion for the dismission of the Hanover troops; but reserved his whole strength for the discussion of the motion for continuing the forces, in the committee of supply on the 17th of January†.

It was a day of great expectation; both parties had been diligent in mustering their whole strength, and the number of members present amounted to 500. The motion to continue the troops of Hanover, was made by Sir William Yonge, in the same words as in the preceding year; and he supported the question with his usual ability. Mr. Horace Walpole, third son of the earl of Orford, made an elegant and judicious speech, in which he aptly applied a passage in Lucan's Pharsalia to the king:

Livor edax tibi cuncta negat, Gallosque subactos
Vix impune feres.

† Lord Hardwicke's Parliamentary Journal; according to the printed Debates it was on the 18th.

The inconsiderate warmth of Mr. Stanley, who charged the king, by name, with having shewn a notorious partiality to his electoral troops, occasioned such disorder in the house, that, for a few minutes, it could be compared to nothing but a tumultuous polish diet; and no one could tell how much farther the resemblance might have been carried, had not the speaker seasonably interposed his authority, and calmed the house*.

According to an able judge†, who was present at the debate, Mr. Walpole enlarged better than any other person upon the impossibility of hiring troops in time from other princes, and the consequences which the dismission of the Hanover forces would produce among the allies, particularly the Dutch. "Such a precipitate step," he said, "at this juncture, would threaten the dissolution of the alliance, as it would testify a want of union and mutual confidence between the king and his parliament." He enumerated all the countries which might be supposed capable of supplying us with men, as Denmark, Saxony, Cologne, the Swiss, and displayed strong objections against all of them. In the course of the debate, he hinted at the feuds in the cabinet, by ironically alluding to their union and attach-

* This incident, which is mentioned in none of the printed Debates, is taken from Lord Hardwicke's Parl. Journal.

† Mr. Yorke.

ment; he touched upon what he considered as the real cause of the clamour against the Hanoverians, namely, the king's personal behaviour to them.

He concluded by observing; "Nothing can be more evident, than that, by the discharge of the Hanoverians, there will be an immediate dissolution of alliance; and the consequences of it must as inevitably be the giving France such a superiority as to put it in her power to impose what terms she pleases upon the queen of Hungary, who, being abandoned, must afterwards leave her allies to the mercy of that crown. The consequence of which must be, that when the peace upon the continent is made by the directions and influence of France, exclusive of England, that power, sensible of the opposition made to her by this nation, and out of resentment for the trouble and obstructions to her views, will soon take an opportunity to deliver to us a long list of pretended provocations, and require an extraordinary satisfaction; to which we must submit in a shameful manner, like a province to her, or run the hazard of a war with France and Spain, without the prospect of the least support from any ally whatsoever. And so the war will be translated from the continent to this island, which will become a scene of blood and confusion."

Mr. Pitt spoke against the question with his usual energy and animation, rather appealing to the passions than to the judgment. He expatiated, with all the force of language, on the indignities offered to the british troops; exaggerated petty incidents and casual occurrences into instances of a studied preference of the hanoverian forces, and contemptuously asked, "Whether other troops were not to be procured in Germany, *that great market of men?*"

Mr. Pelham defended the measure as a british measure. "The consequences," he said, "would shew, that as the quarrel concerned England alone, and not Hanover, her interests would only be considered, either in prosecuting the war, or concluding peace. Nothing, he confessed, could be so mean or dishonourable in any minister, as to flatter the pride, passions and views of his master, at the expence of the national interests."

But although the question was negatived by a considerable majority in this and a subsequent debate*, on resuming the question after the report of the committee in both houses; yet the violent protests of the peers, and vehement assertions of opposition in the house of commons, made a deep impression on the public mind.

* In the committee, by 266 against 178. On the report, by 266 against 48.

The number of disaffected was either wantonly or malignantly exaggerated, and France encouraged, from the hope of internal feuds, and the co-operation of domestic traitors, to meditate an invasion in favour of the pretender.

Had Sir Robert Walpole and cardinal Fleury now presided at the head of affairs, their pacific systems might have preserved the two countries from the horrors of war. But the violence of party had driven the english minister from the helm, and Fleury had closed his long and valuable life in the 90th year of his age. Mr. Walpole always retained a high respect for the memory of his venerable friend, and imputed any deviation from his pacific system to the characteristic ardour of the french nation.

Soon after the decease of Fleury, the principal administration of affairs was committed to cardinal Tencin, who, elevated to the purple on the nomination of the pretender, displayed his gratitude by fostering the national animosity against England. The ministers who had served under cardinal Fleury were gradually removed, and Tencin, whose violent disposition Mr. Walpole compared with that of lord Carteret*, succeeded in exciting the french cabinet

* "I find," observes Mr. Walpole in a letter to Mr. Yorke, "by the papers, that Amelot, the French secretary of state, is removed, the last remains of cardinal Fleury's pacific disposi-

to attempt the restoration of the pretender by invading England.

Eighteen ships of the line, with a proportionate number of frigates, carrying on board 4000 land-forces, appeared suddenly off the Isle of Wight, and, meeting with no english squadron, dispatched orders to hasten the embarkation at Dunkirk and the other ports of France, with a full assurance of success*. Several thousand troops actually embarked, and the son of the pretender, with marshal Saxe, who commanded the land forces, came in sight of the english coast; but a sudden storm drove many of the transports on shore, dispersed the others, and frustrated the plan. The french squadron returned to the ports of France fortunately after escaping the english fleet under the command of Sir John Norris.

The danger incurred from this threatened invasion, was almost past before the report was circulated in England; but terror and indignation had an instantaneous effect on the nation at large. Loyal addresses were presented by both houses, the city of London, and the principal towns in Great Britain; and 520 merchants subscribed their names to support

tion, which, I suppose, gives a full career to Tencin's furious and enterprising genius; but as we have a Jehu to match him, I suppose we have nothing to fear." Cheltenham, May 2, 1744.

* Tindal.

public credit, and hazard their lives in defence of his majesty's sacred person and government, and for the security of the Protestant succession. The most vigorous preparations were made throughout the kingdom; the divisions in the cabinet were suspended; the earl of Stair and the duke of Marlborough, conscious that the clamour against the hanoverian troops had encouraged the invasion, set a noble example of loyalty, by tendering their services in any station. Their offers were gratefully accepted, and their example was followed by persons of all ranks; the war against France became popular, and the parliament voted larger supplies* than had perhaps been ever granted before at one period.

In the course of 1743, Mr. Walpole had an opportunity of displaying that personal courage which he possessed in an eminent degree. A motion being made in the house of commons, which he supported, he said to Mr. Chetwynd†, who was standing behind the speaker's chair, "I hope we shall carry this question." Mr. Chetwynd replied, "I hope to see you hanged first." 'You hope to see me hanged first!' rejoined Mr. Walpole, and immediately seized him

* Tindal. 10,000,000*l.* which, according to the comparative value of money, was equivalent to 30,000,000*l.* at present.

† Afterwards Viscount Chetwynd.

by the nose. They went out and fought. The account being conveyed to lord Orford, while he was at dinner, he sent his son to make enquiries, who, on coming into the house of commons, found his uncle speaking with the same composure as if nothing had happened to ruffle his temper or endanger his life*. Mr. Chetwynd, however, was wounded, though not mortally.

To this rencontre Mr. Poyntz alludes in a letter to Mr. Walpole; "You will give me leave to take this opportunity of congratulating you on the reputation you have acquired, by your calmness and intrepidity, on a late occasion, of resenting injuries in this way, which our age, and paternal as well as conjugal relation, exempts us from†."

* From the late earl of Orford.

† Midgham, March 17, 1742-3.

CHAPTER 25.

1744.

Extracts from Mr. Walpole's Letters to Mr. Trevor, the Rev. Mr. Milling, and Mr. Yorke, on the Situation of Domestic and Foreign Affairs.

THE opinion of Mr. Walpole on foreign affairs and domestic politics, at this critical juncture, is fully displayed in his private letters to Mr. Trevor, to the Rev. Mr. Milling, british chaplain at the Hague, and to Mr. Yorke, eldest son of lord chancellor Hardwicke.

Extracts of Letters from Mr. Walpole to Mr. Trevor.

" Cockpit, March 3, 1743-4. Far from thinking our spirits low in England, I have thought them in general too cool and indifferent upon the intended invasion. Lord Orford and myself have, indeed, shewn more concern than any body on this occasion, not for want of courage and resolution, but from a thorough knowledge of some of our considerable countrymen, and because we do not believe that 7000 English, which is all we can have here complete, to defend this capital and any of the neighbouring counties, according to the place where the French may land, sufficient to beat

15,000 French; where the people may, perhaps, look on, and cry "Fight dog, fight bear!" if they do no worse. Nor do I look upon addresses to carry with them powder and ball; and I see nothing but words stirring in the city for the support of the government, should the French venture to invade us, which I think they will do, if not prevented by Sir John Norris, who has now all his squadron in the Downs, although a good deal damaged by the late storm, which saved the Brest squadron.

"I am impatient for an easterly wind to bring over the 6000 Dutch, and I hope the government will send for as many English from Ostend; and believe me, dear sir, far from thinking this the effect of low spirits, I look upon it as madness not to take the necessary precautions, which is the least we can do."

"Cockpit, March 28, O. S. 1743-4. As soon as I returned this evening from the house, I met with your envelope of the 6th of March, N. S. and was extremely surprised to find, in the Amsterdam Suite, that I am quoted in the article from London, as having proposed, previously to the consideration of the address from the lords, to enter into an enquiry of the state of our marine; and that my proposition was rejected by a majority of 289 to 123. Surely nothing of that nature could come into my head

especially at so great and critical a juncture; for I look upon such a motion, which, as I remember, was made by one of the opponents, (I think Mr Waller,) with detestation, as being calculated to put a slur upon the message of intelligence, by the crown, of the intended invasion from France in favour of the pretender, and to clog and defeat the unanimity of our address. There never was a more impudent and ill-grounded lye. I really, my dear friend, wonder you read it with patience, or could entertain the least suspicion of my having been capable of such a thing; for the support of the government, and not opposition to it, has always been, and will ever be my principle, under any administration that his majesty shall think fit to employ."

Mr. Walpole to the Rev. Mr. Milling.

After recommending his eldest son, the present lord Walpole, who then commenced his travels, he proceeds: "The declaration of war by France, against us, will prevent him from going thither; which brings me to the political part of your letter. I am extremely edified to learn that there is so general a good disposition with you to join with us in resisting that formidable, ambitious, and powerful neighbour. God grant us union and strength enough to do it, and crown our successes with a more ho-

nourable peace than that of Utrecht, from whence all our difficulties since that time have flowed! As to the invasion, I made no doubt of its being attempted after cardinal Fleury's death, when the old maxims of France should revive, especially if Tencin should have the principal credit in the french councils. I looked upon such an attempt as part of the general scheme of operations, and connected with their enterprises on the continent. They began it so early, hoping that we should not have got together a sufficient fleet to oppose to their Brest squadron, nor a sufficient number of regular troops time enough to resist the body which they should be able to land. As to this last, they would have judged right, had not Providence interposed by a most favourable storm; otherwise they would have got on shore above 14,000 men, when we should not have had together, in one body, above 6000 effective.

" As to the disposition of the people here, I am, in my opinion, persuaded that the old leaven of the High Tories still exists; their principles, in favour of the pretender, will appear as strong as ever upon the first occasion; and the false patriots, in conjunction with the jacobites, who put on the mask of patriotism too, have so poisoned the minds of numbers, otherwise well affected to the government, with notions against the royal family, as having an affection and re-

gard for the interest of Hanover preferably to that of Great Britain, that they have had a very bad effect, and made too many too indifferent for the support of this government. And I may tell you in confidence, that the present administration is, partly from divisions among themselves, and partly from want of capacity, the weakest I ever knew. One*, that is supposed to have the greatest credit with the king, at least in foreign affairs, has no plan, and no other consideration, but to discover what his master desires, and to encourage and pursue that point at all hazards and events. Others, that have better intentions, do not speak their minds, for fear of losing the little credit they have; and are so timid and fearful of disobliging even the opponents, that they have not courage and sense to do the common and necessary acts for the support of the government; so that the disaffected, from that very reason of the government having not taken up more persons, have the assurance to affirm, and have made thousands believe, that a real invasion, in favour of the pretender and his son, was never so much as intended; although I am persuaded, that, besides the progress made in the embarkation, which Providence so seasonably dispersed, the ministers had the most undoubted intelligence,

* Lord Carteret.

from the best hands, of the design, even before it was undertaken; and knew not only what you have heard of the emperor's letter to the pope, but also were acquainted with what had been wrote from Rome to the emperor, acquainting him with that horrid design.

"But I have troubled you too long with my disagreeable thoughts: France has resolved to declare war, which we must support as well as we can; and hope our old allies will not desert us. But our chief dependence must be upon the goodness of God, who has so often miraculously delivered this wicked nation, praying to him that he will give us peace in our time, for it is he only," &c.

Mr. Walpole always entertained the highest esteem and respect for lord chancellor Hardwicke, with whom he had long acted, and, after his retreat from public affairs, maintained an occasional correspondence; but he kept up a constant intercourse of letters with his son Mr. Yorke*, which seems to have commenced at this period. In these private effusions of his heart, he unbosomed himself to his friend, and gave his unbiassed opinion on men and measures. He frequently availed himself of this channel to communicate hints and observations,

* Afterwards Lord Royston, and on the death of his father, Earl of Hardwicke.

and to transmit his reflections on the proceedings of the cabinet, with a view to be imparted to the chancellor, and, through him, to the duke of Newcastle, or perhaps to the king.

The first letter which appears in this collection was written from Cheltenham, whither he had retired, in consequence of ill health, from the duties of parliament.

" DEAR SIR, Cheltenham, April 9, 1774.

" Your goodness in following me so far with your kind remembrance, I look upon as a particular mark of that friendship for which I have the greatest esteem, and therefore any token of it must give me a sensible pleasure.

" Whether the papers, by sending me to Holland, meant it in a jocular or serious manner, I can't tell; but sure I am that nothing will ever tempt me to embark in foreign negotiations. I shall content myself with doing my duty in parliament, as long as I am a member; and indeed I should not have left it, had I thought any thing could possibly occur there of much importance during this session. It is possible that some papers brought into the house may occasion some personal altercations; but as they may arise partly from personal views, I think myself very little concerned in them, which I understand to be laying in claims to oppose the management and conduct of the war.

The opponents seem to be now like high-mettled hounds, that give their tongues easily and often, but have not got yet good noses; but, being wanton and lavish, will run away with any, though a wrong scent, without staying till the fox is heated in the chase, and then, and not till then, they should stick close to him.

"The war being reciprocally declared between England and France, we are now the only open and avowed enemies to the whole house of Bourbon. It is indeed a new case, and unavoidable, and which, I would say, was evident to me must have been the case, had not the emperor died, from that forced and necessary (as 'tis called) rupture with Spain; but that, perhaps, you would think me partial to my own prophecies and notions, and it is now to no purpose to look back.

"Our antient allies are indeed, on account of the pragmatic sanction, engaged more or less in the same measures with us, in opposition to those of the house of Bourbon, which makes it a common cause between us and them. But as none of them are, jointly with us, in a direct and declared act of enmity with that house, they are under no obligation about their continuing to act, and not to enter into any negotiations for putting an end to the troubles without a communication and concert with us, which

was the case of the two last great wars, and preserved, by a joint alliance, the necessary union of minds and measures during the continuance of them. The tables are now turned, and the application for a stricter and inseparable union lies upon us: our allies, hence, certainly will feel they have a great advantage over us, as I am assured we shall soon see.

"The house of Austria will seem zealous and ready to declare war against France, upon an alliance to be made with us; but then I apprehend the conditions of the alliance, both with respect to the money and quotas to be furnished by us for carrying it on, and to the terms of peace, and with respect to indemnity and future security, will be such as it will be difficult for the most bold and enterprising genius to digest, not to say any thing of the collision of various and incompatible views of some acting under two qualities and capacities*, that will perplex and embarrass the whole, and prevent the forming an uniform plan, either with regard to war or peace.

"The unanimity which the government of the States requires in so momentous a point as that of declaring war, will, I am afraid, furnish time and excuses to those that are against it; such as the zeal they have already shewn in supporting us when invaded, shutting a door to all

* Alluding to the King as elector.

possibility of negotiating a peace, and their being deserted at the last war by England, notwithstanding our joint successes and obligations to the contrary. We will, they will say, execute our engagements towards the queen of Hungary; we will support the Protestant succession in England; but why, until we are actually attacked, and our barrier invaded, make things so desperate as to render pacification impracticable, especially if we are not deficient in our efforts to support our respective engagements? They may hope that this will keep the war out of Flanders; and indeed it is possible that it may. For although I was fully persuaded that if the invasion of England had succeeded, (that is, if the storm had not prevented this landing,) the French would, as soon as the season would permit, have attacked some place in Flanders; it is possible now, if they have entirely laid aside all thoughts of an invasion, they may likewise forbear all attempts upon the dutch barrier, in order to keep the States in suspense about the war, and push some bold march, by a concert with the king of Prussia, towards Westphalia, which may possibly distress the general plan of exertions in Germany, and divide the allies more than any other measure whatsoever; though I think it would be more expensive, and might prove, if the allies would understand one another, more hazardous to the French.

"Besides public reasons, there are often latent and silent causes that have a greater influence on the mind; such as divisions among the governing and governed, and particularly of the first among themselves, who, instead of being united. watch the opinion of each other in order to oppose it. So that the struggle for power deprives the government of all power whatsoever to act what is right for the public; and the masters can never be well advised, when flattery, to maintain credit, advises nothing but what is pleasing on one side, and there is not courage enough on the other side to contradict it, for fear of displeasing. These things are as well known in Holland as in England, and will have their influence in deliberations. Count N———w, a few days before he went away, shewed me, in a visit he made me, that he was as fully acquainted with these matters as any one at St. James's; and therefore, while we blame the Dutch for their backwardness in a course in which they are as much or more concerned than we are, perhaps, if decency would let them speak out, they would shew that what we blame in them proceeds from causes among ourselves. However, I am persuaded the well intentioned there will do their best to check the dangerous and ambitious views of France."

CHAPTER 26.

1744—1745.

Struggles in the Cabinet between Lord Granville and the Pelhams—Ineffectual Attempts of Granville to gain the Tories and the Whigs of the Walpole Party—His Dismission extorted from the King —Review of his Character and Measures—Letters from Mr. Walpole to Mr. Trevor.

THE events of this year verified the apprehensions of Mr. Walpole. In the beginning of the campaign, the french arms made a rapid progress; fortified places either submitted at the first summons, or were insignificantly defended; and the passage of the Rhine, by prince Charles of Lorrain, alone retarded the conquest of the Austrian Netherlands. By this diversion the allies became greatly superior in numbers; but, from want of money, could not improve the advantage. The success of prince Charles excited the natural pride of the austrian cabinet to menace the king of Prussia, who, by the remittance of 100,000*l.* from France, was prompted to re-commence hostilities.

In addition to these misfortunes, the feuds in the cabinet, which had experienced a temporary suspension from the dread of an invasion, broke

out with increasing acrimony; and the dismission of lord Carteret, or the resignation of the Pelhams, became indispensable. Such was the mutual antipathy of the rival ministers, and the jealousy of Newcastle, that Mr. Walpole observes, in a letter to Mr. Trevor, Feb. 27, 1744, "I take the liberty to hint to you, (but in the greatest confidence and assurance of secrecy,) that the duke of Newcastle is not perfectly well pleased with you; and I am persuaded that the reason is, because, I am told, your dispatches are full of flattery to lord Carteret. For you must know, that, notwithstanding the common danger, they are, if possible, greater enemies than ever; and that appears in all the deliberations in council, at this great and critical juncture. The truth is, his grace is generally not much esteemed, and his lordship is generally, I am afraid, hated, not to say worse*."

* The manly reply of Mr. Trevor, which does honour to his independent spirit, deserves to be laid before the reader.

"Hague, March 20, 1744. In this place I may confess to you, that I look upon the king's old servants to be what constitutes the strength of his government, and I am not a little proud of being able to consider myself as an élève of that school. As to certain vicissitudes which have since happened, I can with truth assure you, that my new master has rather coincided with me, than I with him. The first *tertium* that we agreed in was our opposition to the hanoverian, or rather hessian scheme of neutrality, submission or even co-

opera-

Lord Orford, disgusted with these broils, which he had in vain attempted to allay, retired

operation with the emperor's party; and whatever unpopular suspicions the person in question has since given occasion for, I cannot but bear testimony that he set out like a minister who proposed to *serve*, rather than *please* his master; nor have I ever yet received any political commands from him, but what I, in my own conscience, approved. I have not, indeed, attributed any personal merit to him on this last account, understanding the same to have been the joint result of the administration; but, however, it has been a great pleasure to me, to see that a change of men has wrought so small a change of measures.

"As to any personal intimacy or friendship with his lordship, I have had no opportunity of contracting either. In his two last passages through the Hague, he neither ate nor drank with me, nor had I half an hour's discourse with him. Pleasures, you may easily imagine, I have not had it in my power to do him any worth speaking of; nor have I ever asked any of him, that he has procured me. He was, indeed, pleased to notify to me my brother's promotion, and to add expressions of his satisfaction therein, so that I could not but return him a suitable compliment on the occasion; and *that* is the only one, his colleague will have found in all my relations, that regarded his person. As to any thing I may have had occasion to say in praise of orders given, measures taken, &c. it ought to be understood to relate to the whole ministry; and I am sure I never aimed or intended to point out any contradistinction. It is very hard that great men cannot quarrel without forcing us little ones to take a part; but I hope both his grace, and especially his brother, are too equitable, and too much my friends, to be angry with me for keeping upon comfortable terms with my immediate superior officer.

"Possibly his grace's present displeasure may have taken its rise from my declining to serve for Lewes. The reasons I alledged to him, and to Mr. Harry Pelham, for so doing, were

to Houghton*, and even as early as the spring expectations were formed of an approaching

more than sufficient to satisfy any candid person. My present circumstances will not allow me to hurry backwards and forwards between London and the Hague; nor will this residence dispense with my absence for a fortnight. You are yourself, I am persuaded, convinced that I have happened to be as serviceable to my king and country here of late, as I could have been with my attendance and vote at Westminster. Besides, *entre nous*, all other impediments apart, what a task must I have had to have steered inoffensively between my Sussex patron and my Hague principal.

"This is a true description of myself and circumstances; but as I would not only be innocent, but unsuspected too, pray do what may properly and naturally fall in your way to set me right in the duke's opinion, and especially in his brother's, if necessary, as nothing could be more sensible to me than the loss of the latter, which I have studiously endeavoured to procure and cultivate on all occasions; and sometimes even, as I have had the satisfaction to think, with some success.

"In point of obligations, I know to what quarter my brother is chiefly beholden for the *commendam* of his canonry; and I wait with impatience for some unaffected handle to express my thankfulness for that good office to my Sussex (I hope I may still say) friends.

"You'll have seen, by the two last posts, that the young Chevalier is like to inherit nothing of his ancestors but their ill luck. The enterprise is certainly postponed for the present; but, as the french court has now discovered how sore and tender we are in this place, I do expect she will give us a *quietus* all this campaign; but keep holding the young man upon her fist, &c. I should, I own, with submission to better judgments, think myself safe enough with the parliamentary powers now lodged with the king, and with the additional strength of 6000 good honest dutch infantry, without farther weakening Flanders, or, in other terms, the common cause upon

rupture in the ministry. At this time a curious conversation passed between the duke of Newcastle and lord Carteret, of which I shall give his own relation to his friend the chancellor.

" My Lord, Newcastle-house, June 6, 1744.

" I have the pleasure to tell you, that our master gave up, yesterday, the saxon treaty, very coolly and very easily; he said only, that we should repent it when it was too late: in other respects he seemed in good humour. I had a very extraordinary conversation with my lord Carteret, going with him yesterday to Kensington; which, with the late incidents that

upon the continent. But I have felt enough the pulse at home, not to dare even to relate the remonstrances that the pensionary has already made me upon the motions of some of our troops in Flanders towards the sea coast. The greffier himself thinks the place France really levels her blow at is Flanders; and there are not wanting people here, who begin to talk of recalling the very succour, if we weaken the army in the Netherlands. You see I talk to you with my old liberty and ingenuousness, and don't question your hearing me with your old candour; so burn away, and believe me, &c."

* " My father," writes Horace Walpole, late earl of Orford, to Sir Charles Hanbury Williams, " was the day before yesterday not quite well of his gravel; but impatient to be clear of the absurdities and broils which he in vain endeavoured to compose and remedy. The world expects some great crack in the ministry every day. I care not; it cannot be worse; I don't see how it is likely to mend." Arlington Street, June 26, 1744.

have passed between us, produced a more extraordinary declaration from him to my brother and me last night. He said, that if my lord Harrington had not been gone, he intended to have spoke very fully to us; that he would do it when your lordship, lord Harrington, and we should be together; that things could not remain as they were; that they must be brought to some precision; he would not be brought down to be over-ruled and out-voted upon every point, by four to one: if we would take the government upon us, we might; but, if we could not, or would not undertake it, there must be some direction, and he would do it. Much was said upon what had passed last year, upon the probability of the king going abroad, &c. Every thing passed coolly and civilly, but pretty resolutely, on both sides. At last, he seemed to return to his usual professions and submission.

"Upon this," adds the duke, "my brother and I thought it absolutely necessary that we should immediately determine amongst ourselves what party to take; and he has therefore desired me to see your lordship, and talk it over with you in the course of this day. We both look upon it, that either my lord Carteret will go out, (which I hardly think is his scheme, or at least his inclination,) or that he will be un-

controulable master. My brother supposes, that, in that case, he means that we should go out. I rather think he may still flatter himself, that (after having had this offer made to us, and our having declined to take the government upon ourselves,) we shall be contented to act a subordinate part. Upon the whole, I think the event must be, that we must either take upon us the government, or go out."

Some unknown circumstances delayed the final settlement of this contest; but mutual jealousies still subsisted, and in September the duke enforced to lord Hardwicke the necessity of removing lord Carteret.

"My opinion," he says, "is always the same; that the only means to act effectually for the public, and honourable for ourselves, is to remove the cause, and the author of all these misfortunes, or to continue no longer ourselves, since we should in some measure be answerable for the general conduct of the ministry, though we should not be in a condition to direct affairs according to our own opinion and judgment. In the first case, we should carry on the war, or put an end to it, as we should think it best. In the other, we should be answerable for nothing. This way of thinking is not agreeable to the sentiments of our other friends. They would like better to put it upon *measures*. If

by that they mean the *conduct of the war*, I agree with them. If they mean the war itself, I think that neither honourable nor just for us who have all concurred in the measure, and some of whom are still of opinion, that, if rightly conducted, it would have ended well. But that which I most fear is, that this difference of opinion, this uneasiness *in*, this indecision with regard to going out, will draw us on this session, as it did the last, blaming, cavilling, but still going on, and awkwardly *supporting;* to prevent which, I depend upon your friendship and weight in our deliberations*."

In consequence of the ill success of the campaign, and the lukewarmness of the Dutch, the altercations were renewed with redoubled violence. The king warmly supported lord Carteret, of whose skill in foreign affairs, and the management of the war, he entertained the highest opinion.

Lord Carteret, who at this period succeeded to the title of earl Granville on the death of his mother †, was conscious of support, and did not

* Newcastle-house, Sept. 14, 1744.

† Lady Grace, daughter of John Granville earl of Bath, who dying without issue male, his daughter was created countess of Granville. She died in October. For the character of lord Carteret, see Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole, ch. 24.

abandon the helm without extreme reluctance. He attempted, at one time, through the means of the prince of Wales, to effect a coalition with the Tories, and at another to conciliate the Walpole party among the Whigs, by the intervention of the earl of Orford. His unsuccessful application to the leaders of opposition, through the medium of the prince of Wales, is mentioned in the late lord Hardwicke's parliamentary journal.

" His royal highness, who unfortunately had no point of union with his father, but a fondness for Hanover, and an attachment to lord Granville, first offered himself as a mediator between the contending parties in the ministry; when that did not succeed, he set on foot a negotiation with the other side, by a message to Chesterfield, Gower, and Cobham, to this effect: 'That as the differences in the administration were grown to that height, through the unreasonableness of Granville's enemies, some changes must necessarily ensue; if they and their friends would come in, and support the said earl, a general removal should be made of the old court, and the whole broad-bottom, as it was called, provided for without reserve.' This overture was seconded by a message from Granville himself, and hopes were thrown out to the Tories of a dissolution of the parliament; but to no

purpose, for the persons applied to having already received overtures from the Pelhams, returned a short answer, that they could not think of accepting any terms whilst Granville continued in power."

Having failed in obtaining a coalition with the Tories and Opposition Whigs, Granville next exerted his efforts to secure the Whigs of the Walpole party. The king entering warmly into his schemes, on the 7th of November summoned into the closet earl Cholmondeley, son-in-law of lord Orford, who had been recently promoted to the privy seal, on the resignation of lord Gower. After highly commending lord Orford's conduct, particularly his service in regard to the continuance of the Hanover troops, his majesty expressed his desire, that he would repair to town a week or ten days before the meeting of parliament. "The experience," said the king, "I have for so many years had of his lordship's zeal for my service, and his consummate judgment in the domestic affairs of my kingdom, induce me to request his attendance in the present dangerous and disturbed situation of Europe, when England is under the necessity of taking so large a share in the support and conduct of the common cause; knowing the real weight of his opinion and influence with

numbers in both houses of parliament when such nice and important points are proposed for their deliberation and advice."

The ex-minister, though scarcely recovered from a fit of the stone, expressed his resolution to obey the commands of the king; at the same time he frankly censured the conduct of foreign affairs, and declined any immediate interposition in favour of lord Granville. In his answer to lord Cholmondeley he writes, "I will set out for London with all the expedition I can; and am heartily sorry to see his majesty's affairs reduced to such extremities. It has been a long time easy to foresee the unavoidable, and almost insurmountable, difficulties that would attend the present system of politics. I wish to God it was as easy to show the way out of them! But be assured that I will, in every thing, to the utmost of my power, consult and contribute to the honour, interest, and safety of the king and kingdom. * * * * *

"I hope, by lying still and quiet a week longer, I shall be able to undertake a London journey, and, by care and management, to perform it so as to get to town several days before the meeting of parliament will be finally adjusted and settled at court; till that is done, I can be of no use or service, in recommending the mea-

sures, to such as may have a regard for my opinion.*"

Mr. Walpole, to whom his brother transmitted his own and lord Cholmondeley's letter, for his information and advice, made some sensible remarks on the contests in the cabinet.

"The circumstances and contents of the letter you received from lord Cholmondeley, by express, evidently show that it was first concerted by the influence of Carteret with the king, then settled and dispatched between his lordship and lord Cholmondeley alone, all entirely without the privity and knowledge of the Pelhams; that there has been a contest in the closet about the conduct of the approaching session; and that Carteret's opinion for supporting with vigour the present war prevails. I was convinced, by some observations on Mr. Pelham's behaviour before I left the town, that either want of resolution or capacity in his great and difficult station, or both, inclined him to wish an end to the present troubles abroad at any rate. His intimation, by Mr. Selwin, to you to stay in the country, and the language the speaker is said to hold lately, (who is in Pelham's confidence,) that we should wrap ourselves up within ourselves, has strengthened

* Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole, Correspondence, vol. 3, p. 602, 603.

that opinion; and the inclosed letter of the 3d instant, from the duke of Newcastle, in answer to one I had wrote to him about the sicilian abbot, induces me to believe, that his hatred to Carteret has even made his grace fall from his glorious notions, of making a figure abroad, into his brother's way of thinking. * * * *

"Your lordship's answer to lord Cholmondeley, (for the sight of which I return you my thanks,) is, in my opinion, as proper and prudent considering your station, as could be. But the wipe you give to the present system of politics, and your avoiding to enter into any previous consultation of measures, will make Carteret perceive that you decline having any thing to do with him. However, your strong expressions of zeal and attachment to his majesty and his service, must obviate any ill impression he may endeavour to make upon the king to your prejudice."

In another letter he expresses his opinion that the contest at court related to a change of men, and not of measures, and that his brother's interference would be hazardous and embarrassing; and recommends him to defer his journey, on account of his indisposion*. But lord Orford, preferring his duty to the king to all other

* Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole, Correspondence, vol. 3, p. 605, also ch. 62.

considerations, undertook the fatal journey to London, which hastened his dissolution.

During this interval the die was cast, and the dismission of the favourite minister extorted from the king. At the instance of the duke of Newcastle, and Mr. Pelham, the lord chancellor drew up a strong memorial, representing the ill conduct of foreign affairs, and the necessity of adopting a new system of politics. This memorial, written with great spirit and perspicuity, being highly approved by the Pelhams and lord Harrington, was communicated to the dukes of Devonshire, Dorset, Argyle* and Montague, who engaged to support the measures it recommended. It was presented by the chancellor to the king on the 31st of October, who returned it in a few hours, without any observation. But the duke of Newcastle, Mr. Pelham, and lord Hardwicke enforced the arguments of the memorial in private audiences, and urged the necessity of dismissing lord Granville. The extreme reluctance with which the king acceded to the importunities of his cabinet, and the views of the Pelhams, will appear from a letter written by the duke of Newcastle to lord Hardwicke on the 3d of November:

"My brother will acquaint you with what

* Archibald, duke of Argyle, who succeeded to the title, on the death of his brother, John, the preceding year.

passed yesterday in the closet, where he supported our paper with all the firmness and judgment imaginable. The effect produced was *sullenness, ill-humour, fear:* a disposition to acquiesce, if it could be done with lord Granville's approbation; for that is the whole. This appeared plainly by the king's *looks*, and discourse to lord Granville and me together. He addressed himself to lord G.: 'It is time to think of a speech; we must speak plainly, and lay the whole before the parliament.' Lord G.: 'Two days will do that.' 'No, my lord; this speech may require much alteration; we can add good news if it comes at any time; but we must ask the support of the parliament.' The king went on: 'My lord, you *should* write to Holland; we must know what the Dutch would do.' 'Sire, I have done it already; if it is right to insist on declaring war, I believe your majesty must write another letter yourself.' I said little, got out of the closet as soon as I could; but, you may imagine, approved certain parts of his majesty's discourse.

"He afterwards sent for lord G. alone; he staid about five minutes; said nothing to us afterwards of what had passed. The audience was so short, I suppose the fact only was told, probably with assurances of his support, and recommending management and some compliance to

lord Granville. I conclude this day the scheme of conduct will be settled between the king and lord Granville, which will, I believe, be what I always foresaw: a seeming acquiescence, depending upon lord Granville's *sçavoir* to defeat it afterwards, and draw us on. This is what I most dread; and I own I think nothing will prevent it but a concert *entamé*, in a proper manner, directly with lord Chesterfield. I have now delivered the paper in the manner you all like; my brother has well supported it; you will be so good as to do it to-morrow or Monday, and I beg you will explain it to the king; but firmness is beyond all argument. Lord Harrington must soon follow, and I think the duke of Dorset, and the duke of Argyle: the first, I am persuaded, will. I wish you would let me know, by a line on Monday morning, what has passed, that I may hold the same language with the king*."

In the audience of the chancellor, who had the principal share in this intrigue, the king expressed an uncommon degree of esteem for lord Granville, and repeatedly exclaimed, with no less dignity than warmth, "You would persuade me to abandon my allies; that shall never be the obloquy of my reign, as it was of queen Anne's; I will suffer any extremities rather than consent*."

* Hardwicke Papers.

During this state of suspense the session of parliament drew near, and the public mind was highly agitated. Lord Granville was extremely unpopular; he was unjustly considered as the sole cause of the unsuccessful campaign in Germany, of the inactivity of the Dutch, and of the renewal of hostilities by the king of Prussia; even the prolongation of the war was imputed to his counsels.

The king made a final effort to protract the fall of his favourite minister; he ordered the predominant party in the cabinet to draw up his speech, that he might judge, from the contents, whether he approved the measures they proposed. In obedience to his commands, the chancellor submitted a draught to the king, who returned it in the next audience, transcribed from the beginning to the end in his own hand, with some additions, probably suggested by Granville. But on the remonstrances of the Pelham party, the king consented to omit the most important of these additions, which declared that he would agree to no peace till all his allies had been satisfied*.

This was the prelude to the fall of the minister. The king, unable to conciliate the cabinet, and finding all parties united against him, was

* Letter from the duke of Newcastle.—Hardwicke Papers.

compelled to acquiesce, and on the 23d of November testified his resolution to the chancellor that lord Granville should resign, which he did on the following day. "Thus," to use the expressions of the late earl of Hardwicke, "this hunted minister, at present an outcast from all parties, was obliged to resign, having first laid the foundation of future merit and favour†, by giving assurances that himself and his friends would heartily concur in supporting the war, and even outgo the ministers on that head. The seals were given to lord Harrington, who had acted in a perfect concurrence with the chancellor and his friends during this transaction, whose experience in foreign affairs was useful in business, at the same time that his person was very acceptable in the closet."

On the resignation of Granville, the views of the Pelhams were developed. During the recent struggle for power, they had gained the

† Lord Granville always retained the personal favour of the king; and Mr. Fox, in a letter to Sir Charles Hanbury Williams, compares his situation at the present period, to that of Harley on his compulsory resignation.—"When you read Cook, I think in 1708, when lord Godolphin and the duke of Marlborough would not come to council with Harley, who went out, and was higher with the queen for that time, and, from the cause of his disgrace, never had her affection and opinion more strongly than at the instant he was forced to quit her service as secretary, you will hear something will put you in mind of this by next post."—Hanbury Papers.

SIR JOHN HYNDE COTTON

From an Original at Madingley

leaders of opposition, and arranged a new administration, which was ludicrously called the *Broad Bottom*, because it indiscriminately admitted the Whigs and Tories into power, on a broad and general basis, without distinction of party. They gained lord Cobham, and his strong parliamentary phalanx, by promoting him to the sixth regiment of horse, by placing Mr. Lyttleton and Mr. George Grenville at the boards of treasury and admiralty, and by promising to introduce Mr. Pitt into office, as soon as the king's prejudice against him, on account of his parliamentary conduct, could be removed. The duke of Bedford was made first lord of the admiralty, and gratified with the appointment of his friend the earl of Sandwich to a place at the same board. The Tories were conciliated by the nomination of earl Gower to the office of lord privy seal, and of Mr. Dodington to the post of treasurer to the navy: even Sir John Hynde Cotton * and Sir John Philips accepted

* Sir John Hynde Cotton was descended from an antient family, who were said to have taken their surname from Cotton, a manor in Cambridgeshire, and were afterwards seated at Landwade and Maddingley-hall in the same county. His grandfather, Sir John Cotton, was created a baronet in the 17th of Charles the First.

Sir John Hynde Cotton was member of parliament, in the reign of queen Anne, for the town of Cambridge, and afterwards represented the county in several parliaments of George the First. He was lord commissioner of trade and planta-

the places of treasurer of the chamber and lord of trade. The duke of Devonshire was nominated lord steward of the household, in the room of the duke of Dorset, who was made president of the council; lord Middlesex and Mr. Fox were appointed lords of the treasury, Waller cofferer of the household, and lord Chesterfield, after much reluctance on the part of the king, was constituted embassador to the Hague, with the lieutenancy of Ireland.

The extreme popularity occasioned by the removal of lord Granville, whose administration was reproachfully called the Drunken Adminis-

tions in the reign of queen Anne; but, under the succeeding sovereign, was excluded from all offices of government, on account of his known attachment to the house of Stuart. He was a man of high integrity, and, notwithstanding his decided opposition, was much respected by Sir Robert Walpole. He was a fluent and able speaker, and was equally distinguished for his solid understanding and brilliant wit. He was zealous and active in promoting the schemes of his party, and made an annual progress throughout England to maintain the spirit of his friends, and rally the partisans of opposition.

The accession of a man of his character and principles was a great acquisition to government; but the king was extremely averse to his appointment, particularly to the office of treasurer of the chambers, which gave constant access to his person. From this repugnance of the sovereign, a caricature print represented the Broad Bottom Administration as thrusting Sir John Hynde Cotton, who was extremely corpulent, down the king's throat.

Being afterwards disgusted, he resigned his office, and died in 1752.—See Kimber and Johnson's and Betham's Baronetages.

tration, and the coalition of parties, ensured support and tranquillity to the cabinet. The principal speakers in both houses being ranged on the side of the ministry, the session, which continued from the 22d of November to the 2d of May, was scarcely distinguished by a single division, and is only mentioned in the annals of Great Britain for the proceedings relative to the conduct of admirals Matthews and Lestock, for an insignificant debate on a motion for annual parliaments, and for a supply of 6,000,000*l.*

The character and conduct of earl Granville were much misrepresented by party prejudice. He was a man of great talents, of profound and elegant learning, skilled in the knowledge of several languages, of commanding deportment, and, when he pleased, of affable and conciliating manners. But he was unfortunately too much addicted to conviviality, and, when heated with wine, was overbearing, impetuous, and insulting. He entertained a mean notion of the duke of Newcastle's talents and capacity. Proud of the king's favour, and conscious of his superior eloquence, he indignantly brooked the preponderance of the Pelhams in parliament, yet did not condescend to exert his powers in forming a party of his own. Hence Mr. Winnington not unaptly remarked, "Had lord Granville studied Parliament more, and Demosthenes less, he would have been a more successful minister."

In regard to the imputation of subservience to hanoverian politics, stigmatised by the duke of Newcastle as "abominable courtly measures," and to the ill conduct of foreign affairs, his partisans might have urged, that though his private demeanour towards the other ministers was justly censurable; yet his public system did not deserve that obloquy which was cast upon it, both by the ministers and the opposition. For, without entering into the complicated question of the utility or prejudice of continental connections, we may observe, that he had no sooner resigned, than the same measures were pursued with equal obstinacy, though with less vigour. The Hanoverians and Hessians were dismissed from the british service; but the queen of Hungary was largely subsidised, and took the same troops into her pay. The only difference was, that, in the first instance, the troops were paid by british money *directly*, and in the second indirectly, through the queen of Hungary; and as the popular clamour against the Hanoverians subsided, 18,000 were taken into british pay in 1746, and the new parliament, which met in November the following year, voted 22,000.

It is but justice to the character and conduct of this great but "hunted" statesman, to insert a note written by the late earl of Hardwicke, at the bottom of one of the duke of Newcastle's most violent letters to the chancellor, against

hanoverian influence, and containing a bitter invective of lord Granville; a note which reflects great honour on the candour and liberality of the son of that minister, who principally contributed to the removal of Granville. "No doubt lord Granville was an overbearing presumptuous minister, and made his great court to the king upon his german points. In the Dettingen campaign, either through his own or his master's fault, he managed but awkwardly; but truth obliges me to say, that the war was not better conducted on the continent after he was turned out, nor did lord Chesterfield bring the Dutch up to our propositions; and the duke of Newcastle himself, under the wing of a military prince of the blood, grew as fond of the war abroad as lord Granville himself. His brother and he almost came to a rupture about it in 1747 and 1748."

Mr. Walpole took no active part in the intrigue for the removal of lord Granville, but transmitted an account of what was passing, in several confidential letters to Mr. Trevor*:

"December 14, 1744, O. S. When the ministry here will be settled, God knows; there is such a calm in appearance, then the business in parliament goes on, in a manner, without a house.

* Hampden Papers.

This suspension of arms there, does certainly import a negotiation; but the treaty advances slowly: the full powers are not signed, and the ratification of the preliminaries are settled with mutual difficulties and delays. However, this stagnation of government, for that is the case at present, so destructive to the foreign and domestic affairs, cannot last long; in the mean time the French are taking winter-quarters, &c.

* * * * * *

"It will be impossible to get a good peace, without shewing France you are in a condition to make war."

"Cockpit, Dec. 21, 1744, O. S. The removal of the great man here, has, I am told, not been very disagreeable where you are. His parts and eloquence were indeed very great; but his own vanity, and contempt of his fellow servants, without, at the same time, having any plan to carry on a war, which he loudly cried out for, and publicly professed to do at any rate or expence, though ever so extravagant, (persuading himself that gaining the good-will in the closet would be an invincible support,) without the least regard to parliament, persons, or things without doors, were the greatest indication of madness, folly, or something worse, that ever possessed the weakest of men.

"Since his removal from place, but not from

royal affection, there has indeed been a great calm in the assembly most liable to storms, in order to give time for negotiating a coalition with the opposition of different connexions, a strange motley system, but made in a manner necessary; and puts me in mind of the case of the house of Austria, who formerly supported herself with a steady, firm, and well disciplined body of regular troops; but in the beginning of this war, for want of that support, has been obliged to take to her aid pandours, croates, and insurgents.

"If this coalition takes place, few people will wonder how those that are removed came to be turned out; but most will be interested to see what successors they are like to have. But last night I was told, that the terms of the accessors are so high and extravagant, that the accession is like to fail. If this proves the case, we shall be again at sea, and find more tempestuous weather in Westminster than has sprung up a great while. God preserve the vessel! for she is like to be adrift; exposed to greater domestic storms than ever, without proper persons to hand the sails or steer the helm."

"Cockpit, Dec. 28, 1744. You will have had from the office an account of the alterations; the various motions and different terms in making them are too voluminous for a letter, and I

don't pretend to be so much in the secret as to give a just account of them; but the state of the case in general is, I think, as follows:

"The great ascendant lord Granville had got in the closet, and the great contempt with which he treated all his fellow servants, in neither concerting nor communicating any measures to them, made them take a resolution, one and all, except lord Cholmondely, not to act with him any longer. His lordship, not being able to form a party to himself, (having been absolutely rejected by the opponent patriots,) nor to shew the king how he should be able to carry on the business at this exigency without the other great men in place, laid his majesty under the necessity of removing lord Granville, and at the same time the rest of the ministers, under the necessity of negotiating with what is called the Broad Bottom, that is, the remaining patriots in opposition with some Tories. It is said several Tories, knights of the shires, were offered places by the mediation of lord Gower; but that, serving for jacobite counties, they could not hazard a new election; and therefore declined the acceptance of them, of which they have since made a merit with their party in having refused to come in. This made room for more of the patriot kind. But the great Mr. Pitt, having insisted upon being secretary at war, and the king not agreeing

to remove Sir William Yonge, he declined taking any thing; but 'tis said has promised to support their measures. Whether the desire of making a still greater and more popular figure in the house will not tempt him to break his word, time must shew.

" In short, few are displeased at those that were removed, and as few are pleased with those that are to come in their rooms. The Whigs grumble that there are so many new faces; and the Tories grumble that there are no more of their sort; and yet I don't doubt but this session will go on quietly enough, so far as relates to foreign affairs. The Whigs will be persuaded to support the whole machine, for fear of something worse; and the Tories, having in a manner no head, will I think at least slacken their opposition, or be absent, on account of some distant hopes, in which they may, at least I hope they may, be disappointed. * * * *

" Lord Chesterfield, I suppose you will have heard before this time, takes a turn to Holland before he goes to Ireland, that he may bring the Dutch to a greater proportion of efforts, or have from them sufficient reasons for not doing so. I dare say he will not be able to do more than you could do; but it may not be amiss that he should be charged with the load of justifying their not doing it. I wish, when our old friends

compliment him on coming into administration, they would civilly make him feel their surprise at his having been so long in the opposition; for he had been very industrious, while he was in it, to say that our family had no credit with the Dutch."

Although Mr. Walpole adopted the current opinion against the administration of lord Granville, he was not actuated by party motives, or any predilection to the Pelhams; for when the duke of Newcastle pursued the same system of foreign affairs as his predecessor, Mr. Walpole arraigned his conduct with equal freedom, and even importuned him with repeated remonstrances. Neither his friendship for Mr. Pelham, or his high respect for the chancellor, induced him to conceal his sentiments, or withhold his exhortations.

CHAPTER 27.

1745.

Sketch of Domestic and Foreign Affairs—Rapid Progress of the Rebels—Weak and Divided Efforts of the Ministry—Letters from Mr. Pelham and Mr. Fox—Correspondence of Mr. Walpole.

THE sanguine expectations of the people, that the change of ministers would introduce a more favourable system of affairs, were soon disappointed. The attempts to stimulate the dutch republic to more vigorous exertions failed of success; and the embassy of lord Chesterfield, from which wonders were expected, produced little effect. The discordant interests and views of the coalesced powers, the haughtiness and obstinacy of the austrian court, the dilatory proceedings of the Dutch, and the inefficient measures pursued by the english cabinet, were unequal to the vigour and promptitude of the French and Prussians.

The events of 1745 were equally disastrous both at home and abroad. The powers allied against the house of Bourbon and Prussia were defeated in Germany and Italy; the fatal battle of Fontenoy secured to the French the conquest of the greater part of the Netherlands; and these misfortunes were only counter-balanced

on the continent by the elevation of Francis, husband of Maria Theresa, to the imperial throne, and the peace of Dresden, which detached Prussia from France. At sea the naval exertions were, as usual, spirited and successful; and the important capture of Louisbourg signalised the british arms in America.

At home, a rebellion broke out in Scotland, where the young pretender landed in the month of June, and was joined by the highland clans. After totally defeating Sir John Cope at the battle of Preston Pans, he took possession of Edinburgh, and rapidly advanced into the northern provinces of England. Scotland was unprotected by troops, and even England scantily provided; the king was in Germany, the duke of Cumberland at the head of the british army in Flanders, and the ministry, divided and distracted, were incapable of adopting instant and decisive measures.

This alarming situation of public affairs, and the weak state of the cabinet, are fully displayed in some private letters written by Mr. Pelham and Mr. Fox:

*Mr. Pelham to Archibald duke of Argyle**.

" MY LORD, August 20, 1745.

" I had a letter from general Cope, who I am

* Campbell Papers.

sorry to see in such distress and perplexity; your advice is great comfort to him; but as he is not likely to have the benefit of that long, I own I am in pain for him. I have endeavoured to keep up his spirits as well as I can. I am not so apprehensive of the strength or zeal of the enemy, as I am fearful of the inability or languidness of our friends. I see the contagion spreads in all parts; and if your grace was here, you would scarce in common conversation meet with one man who thinks there is any danger from, scarce truth, in an invasion at this time. For my part, I have long dreaded it, and am now as much convinced as my late friend lord Orford was, that this country will be fought for some time before this year is over. Be that as it will, we must do our best; but nothing can go on right till the government has a head, which I hope it will not long be without; for lord Harrington was to set out from Hanover last Friday, and the king intended to follow him in a very few days.

" Ostend, you see in the newspapers, has capitulated; the garrison is saved; but, to our great surprise, the duke sent lord Crawford and Jack Mordaunt thither, with orders *rather* to carry the troops to Flushing than England. We immediately sent to Flushing to stop their going from thence to the army in Flanders, and this

day have sent positive orders to four regiments to come here, to the river; and the fifth, being the scotch fusileers, commanded by Jack Campbell, is ordered to Scotland, to strengthen Sir John Cope's army, and to recruit itself in that country. I don't doubt but your grace will approve of this exertion of power in the lords' justices; it is the only instance which we have exerted to any real use. Lord Tweedale tells me there are no warrants directed from hence for the seizing any one, except lord Perth; a general recommendation both to the advocate and justice-clerk to issue warrants against any persons that they shall have reason to suspect, is all he knows of. What the truth is, of this, I can't pretend to say.

"Other public affairs remain *in statu quo;* when the king comes, every thing will and must unveil itself. These are not times for doubts; and, if I see right, our master will be of the same opinion. How he will determine, time will shew."

Extracts of Letters from Mr. Fox to Sir Charles Hanbury Williams *.

"Sept. 5, 1745. The rebels are got 24 miles on this side Cope, and are in full march to Edinburgh, or still farther south. There are four

* Hanbury Papers.

men of war and 30 transports at Dunkirk. No account of the Ferrol, or part of the Brest squadron. This news has at length forced the sending for ten battalions of English, which were sent for, by express, last night: a counsel that has prevailed with the greatest difficulty, and is blamed by Granville, as it was opposed by lord Tweedale. The latter did not, ten days ago, believe the pretender's son in Scotland; and the duke of Argyle left it because he was there, as the duke of Athol has his house and estate and clan to his elder brother, and is set out for Edinburgh, on a message from lord Tullibarden †, to get dinner, &c. ready for him by such a day. England, Wade says, (and I believe,) is for the first comer; and if you can tell whether the 6000 Dutch, and the ten battalions of English, or 5000 French or Spaniards, will be here first, you know our fate."

"Sept. 19, 1745. The rebels advance towards England, having passed the Frith above Stirling. Three battalions of Dutch (landed yesterday) began their march on Saturday for Lancashire. They are to be joined by the few English troops, quartered near their march, and are commanded by Wentworth. On Monday last none of lord Tweedale's friends, or rather none of the Scotch,

† The marquis of Tullibarden, who raised the Pretender's standard at Glensinnen, on the 19th of August.

would believe this; but called them rabble, and it was a farce. As they are by this time, perhaps, as I hope, plundering and burning Tweedale's estate and houses, I fancy he will think they might have as well been looked after sooner. Though I hear lord St**** even yesterday opposed sending these Dutch, which Dutch *will not act* against French, if French come. They are not come, God be thanked! and I think now it would be too late. But had 5000 landed in any part of this island a week ago, I verily believe the entire conquest would not have cost them a battle. * * * *

"Every domestic matter is such as could not be explained in other than an extreme long letter, and must not be wrote in any. Imagine every thing in confusion; obstinate, angry, determined impracticability throughout; and then know that the parliament is to meet for business the 17th of next month."

During these unfortunate events, Mr. Walpole resided at Wolterton, afflicted with the recent death of his brother, and brooding over the misfortunes of his country; yet preserving that firmness and tranquillity of mind which had always supported him in the midst of domestic distresses and political storms.

At this critical period, his correspondence with Mr. Yorke and Mr. Milling displays

his character in domestic retirement, and his knowledge and foresight as a statesman. In consequence of the unsettled state of the cabinet, and the weakness of their efforts, he predicted the evils which ensued, and anticipated the misfortunes of the campaign. From long experience of the character of the Dutch, and the defects of their government, he was not buoyed up with the hopes of their active co-operation; and he thus expressed his sentiments in a letter to Mr. Yorke:

"DEAR SIR, Wolterton, June 1, 1745*.

"I cannot forbear one word more in behalf of my old friends the Dutch. I do not think, as a nation, that their old spirit and their old politics are wanting; but they are exhausted, and have no executive power: they are like a ship with a good number of men on board, but wanting guns, ammunition and steerage. As to their not having a greater proportion of their quota in the field, pray, dear Sir, had we half ours? I have had a whisper, as if the opponents in the States of Holland strongly and loudly complained of our wanting 8000 men, (occasioned, I believe, by the fault of our government, which obliged us, to save the honour of a few Patriots, to discharge the Hanoverians,)

* Hardwicke Papers.

and that the pensionary, with a presence of mind and resolution becoming an able minister, justified our behaviour.

"But I don't think the great deficiency of numbers in the confederate army is to be attributed to any thing but our having agreed upon our quotas, and concerted our measures, without having made the necessary preparations of ammunition, recruits, &c. until it has been actually time to act; and consequently the enemy, provided with every thing requisite for battle or siege, took the field, with a numerous well-appointed army, at a time that our troops, destitute of all necessaries, were scattered up and down in quarters, and wanting officers and men to make them complete, were hurried away to action, and, what is the most desperate action, to oblige the French to raise the siege*; without our taking any precautions, or having any intelligence of the enemy's situation, strength or disposition. It is very likely that prince Waldeck, a gallant young officer, and perhaps another young prince too, were zealous and warm for attacking the enemy; it became their youth and their birth: but if this was a rash attempt, as I am afraid it was, where was count

* Of Tournay.

Konigsegg's experience and prudence as an old officer? There the check and caution should have been; and although I plainly perceived that the duke's relation was calculated to manage Konigsegg, and indeed I think there are good reasons to manage him, I believe, upon enquiry, it would be whispered, that he had not answered the character of generalship expected from him; but that is over, and we must look forward.

"I lay it down as a principle, that we had better make almost any peace to-morrow, if, after this campaign is over, (and God knows how it will end,) and we are obliged to go on with the war, and the parliament is not summoned to meet in October or beginning of November, as was practised in king William's and lord Marlborough's time. These two generals never left the Hague, after the end of a campaign, without having concerted with the States the general scheme for the operations of the next, and settled the quotas necessary for the execution of it, as events should fall out; and, the early meeting of the parliament having dispatched the supplies in good time, these generals, but especially the duke of Marlborough, when he went to Flanders at the end of April or the beginning of May, found an army ready prepared to take the field, to force the French lines, or to undertake a siege."

Mr. Walpole to the Rev. Mr. Milling.

Wolterton, Norfolk, May 29, 1745.

"DEAR SIR,

"I am really ashamed of having neglected so long to return you, and my good old friend *, who remembers me so kindly and so often, my grateful thanks for your generous sympathy with me in the affliction I felt from the death of my dear brother, the late lord Orford. This heavy stroke made so deep an impression upon my heart, that for a long time I could do nothing but lament my own loss. * * *

"As to politics, I can only tell you, that my thoughts, as well as my situation, are at a great distance from them, and my *res rustica* employs me entirely. Retired from the noise and nonsense of a public station, no man, I thank God! can have more reason than I have to be satisfied with the more solid and innocent pleasures of a private life. In this situation my mind is kept in a pleasing activity, very different from that which arises from the tumult of passions, and the hurry of affairs. My house, of my own building, is not extremely large, nor little; is neither to be envied, nor despised. The disposition of the rooms is neither magnificent nor contemptible, but convenient. The situation is upon an eminence that commands a

* Greffier Fagel.

most agreeable prospect of woods intermixed with fruitful fields, and so sheltered by thick and lofty trees, in the cold quarters, as not to be exposed to the inclemency of the rigorous seasons. It is encompassed with a most delightful and innocent army of vegetable striplings of my own raising, which are already, (though but of twenty years growth from the seed,) with a becoming rivalship, stretching and swelling themselves into timber. They are all of noble and worthy extraction; the names of their families are oaks, spanish chesnuts, and beech; and I believe none of their relations, in any country, can be more promising and hopeful than they are. They are so ranged and disciplined, as to form, in some parts, most agreeable lines and walks, and openings in other places; from the right and left they discover spacious and delightful lawns.

"Before my house, on the south, a green carpet, of the finest verdure, gratifies the eye, and gradually leads it into a more extensive plain. On one side a lake of living water catches and fills the sight, from whence a most beautiful fluid glides with a serpentine and seemingly endless current, and loses itself in a wood on the other. My rural walks and contemplations amidst this mild, diversified and engaging scene, afford me constantly new sources of health and pleasure, and make me lament the noisy, anxious

and tumultuous hours spent amidst the broils of faction, or vain attempts to serve an ungrateful public.

"If this description pleases you, come, my dear friend, come and partake of the beauties from whence it is drawn. Come, and let us remember our friends in a modest cup of smiling home-brewed ale, and forgive and forget our enemies, and pray for the *peace* and *liberties* of Europe; the first of which, I am afraid, is not so near as I could wish, because the last seem to be in greater danger than ever, which, notwithstanding my retirement, and my philosophical pretensions, gives me frequently uneasy moments.

"The beginning of the campaign, by the successful progress of the Austrians in Bavaria, and the consequent reconciliation of that prince with the queen of Hungary, was very hopeful, and could not have been bought too dear by the maritime powers, if a right use had been made of them. The use I mean, would have been to have laid hold of the king of Prussia's offers, (if he had made any tolerable ones,) and put him out of the scale against us. I know the character of that prince; I know *how little he is to be trusted*, and I would not have trusted him without good security for the execution of his engagements. But if he would have agreed to

abandon France, and would have given, by disarming, or by any other means, security for his good behaviour, the difference of a hundred thousand not acting against us, while all the other princes and electors of Germany, either out of affection or fear, had in a manner declared for us, would have greatly strengthened the common cause, and put the operations upon a right principle, in carrying them directly against France, and against France standing alone. Such a diversion might have been made in Alsace, and such a reinforcement in the Low Countries, as would have given the allies a great superiority, enabled them to have recovered what they had lost, and to have pressed the French so closely as to have obliged them to grant us a safe and honourable peace.

" But now, my dear friend, I apprehend that the principal object of the court of Vienna will be, (leaving the Low Countries to be defended by the maritime powers,) to distract, divide, and devour the prussian dominions. Their *pride*, their *vengeance*, and, above all, their *bigotry*, will naturally lead them to destroy a Protestant power that has dared to offend them. It is true, the Protestant prince, in whose hand this power is lodged, deserves to be chastised for the unworthy and perfidious use he has made of it. But I cannot wish to see that Protestant power

destroyed : it may in some time or other fall into better and honester hands, and may thereby prove of singular advantage for preserving the Protestant religion and the liberties of Europe. Hence it is that I have often wished to see a strict and lasting union, in peace and war, between the maritime powers and the house of Brandenburgh, so as to make their own mutual defence of the Protestant religion and the balance of Europe a common cause between them ; for the late long and expensive wars have so exhausted England and Holland as to make it impossible for them to exert themselves, as they have formerly done, for these good ends, without a supplemental power, such as Brandenburgh, taking a share in it, and bearing by men and money some part of the necessary charge.

" I know the debts of England, and I need not tell you of the debts of Holland, which, in proportion to the extent and opulence of the two countries, are still more enormous. I need not tell you, also, that the house of Brandenburgh is a rising house; the economy of the late king of Prussia; the spirit of discipline he introduced into his army; the ambition, talents, and active genius of the present monarch, must render that house a powerful friend or formidable enemy.

" But can we, will you say, be allied with

the houses of Austria and Brandenburgh at the same time? I answer in the affirmative, because I believe the thing possible now; how long it may be so, exceeds my foresight to determine. Perhaps those two powers may, from the *amor sceleratus habendi*, or the lust of ambition, come to look upon their interests to be so irreconcilable that it will be scarcely possible to be well with them both. In such a case we must choose which of the two it will be most prudent to adhere to, and, for my part, I should not once hesitate in the choice. I perhaps may be singular in my opinion here; but I know the court of Vienna too well ever to expect the smallest spark of gratitude, generosity, or public spirit, in their transactions with us. Their conduct in this present war, which has been undertaken more in their own behalf than ours; the state of their troops, which are near 40,000 inferior to the number stipulated; the timorous and indifferent conduct of the troops, thus deficient; all this makes me look about to see if there is any thing in the queen of Hungary, except her fair face, that ought to make her the darling of the british nation, and of the united provinces."

"October the 29th, O. S. 1745. The rebels in Scotland, after having got (I am afraid by treachery) the capital of the kingdom, and in

consequence increased their numbers considerably, so as to get the better of the king's troops then sent against them, having deferred (whether in expectations of getting the castle of Edinburgh, or of succours from abroad, or from an unwillingness of the highlanders to leave their own country,) having, I say, deferred marching southward, and to get into England, where all the frontier towns were under the greatest astonishment, and entirely unprepared and destitute of means to resist them, gave time for people to recollect themselves, and, by recovering themselves, to think of their own defence, and of the fatal consequences of falling under the cruelties and bondage of a Popish arbitrary government, with subversion of their religion, liberties, and property. These apprehensions roused the laity to enter into general associations, and in many counties into subscriptions of large sums for making them effectual, by raising regiments, companies or troops, according to the different schemes proposed in different counties; and not only the Whigs, out of real zeal, but also the Tories, for fear of being suspected, joined in the associations, and a great many of them in the subscriptions.

"In the mean time, the preachers, of all distinctions, from the pulpit inculcated with great energy into the people the dismal effects of

falling under a Popish governor; and sermons and pamphlets being also printed daily, setting forth popery and slavery in their true colours, have had such a wonderful effect upon the minds of the commonalty, that the popular cry in all places is loud in favour of our happy constitution, and with a detestation of any change in it.

"The city militia passed, last Saturday, through St. James's park, before his majesty, with such an affluence of people attending them as was never, I believe, seen before; and when a particular person ('tis said well enough dressed,) scattered in the face of his majesty some treasonable papers, the mob was so incensed that, had it not been for the guard, 'tis thought they would have tore him to pieces; so that the spirit and strength of the nation appears visibly in favour of the government; and as general Wade will have a sufficient number of regular troops, and is marched towards Scotland, 'tis hoped and believed that, by the blessing of God, the rebellion there will soon be dispersed, unless France openly and vigorously supports the pretender's cause, for the preventing which our navy is very diligently and properly employed.

"As to the parliament, although the address was unanimous and zealous the first day, yet some questions were started that portended

divisions amongst us then. However, yesterday, upon a motion *to enquire into the causes of the progress of the present rebellion*, which, if carried, might have led us into divisions and party faction, the house was so fully convinced of the necessity of putting immediately an end to the present rebellion, preferably to all other considerations, and that the fire should be quenched before we should enquire who kindled or promoted it, that it was carried, not to put that question at this time, by 194 against 112, a majority of 82. So that I hope we shall now proceed unanimously, or at least with a great majority, to find supplies, and ways and means to enable the king to support the government, and restore peace and tranquillity to this kingdom. I can say nothing at present about foreign affairs; my paper, my time, and the confusion they are all in, will not allow it."

CHAPTER 28.

1746.

Attempts of the Earls of Bath and Granville to overturn the Pelhams—Short Administration of Lord Granville—Restoration of the Old Cabinet—The King's Indignation against Lord Harrington—Mr. Walpole's Memorial to the King in favour of Mr. Pitt—Return of Mr. Trevor to England.

THE king was indignant at the manner in which he had been compelled to dismiss lord Granville, and to admit into his service lord Chesterfield, Sir John Hynde Cotton, and several other persons, who had been in constant opposition to his government. His indignation was still farther increased by a strong remonstrance, made by the lord chancellor, on his want of confidence in his servants, which he heard with silence and disgust*. He accordingly treated the Pelhams with great coolness and reserve, even before his departure for the continent in

* The fluctuation of the king's resolutions, and the embarrassed state of his mind, are alluded to in a note from the chancellor to Mr. Yorke, dated Powis House, Sept. 19, 1745. "Parturiunt Montes, but the mouse is not yet brought forth. It has vexed me heartily to be so cruelly called away from Wrest to attend the labour, when the birth seems to be so far off. A certain person feels many pangs and throes; but I perceive, plainly, his principal midwife does not undertake to deliver him, and he (notwithstanding his partiality to him) does not rely upon

the spring of 1745; and seemed to wait only for the first favourable opportunity of dismissing them from his counsels on his return. But this resolution was suspended on account of the rebellion; and the king's resentment might gradually have subsided, had not the duke of Newcastle, in conformity with his promise to lord Cobham, proposed the appointment of Mr. Pitt to the office of secretary at war; and pressed it upon the king with repeated importunities.

At this period the friends of lord Granville asserted, that the king was a prisoner on his throne, and that an administration on a broader bottom was necessary for the safety of the kingdom, and the emancipation of the sovereign. The prosperous turn of affairs, the retreat of the rebels into Scotland, the zeal which the nation had displayed in support of his government, and the reproaches cast against the weakness and inability of the ministry, inspired the king with confidence, and his friends with courage.

Lord Granville inculcated the necessity of the most vigorous measures, and proposed to

him. I have gone thus far in metaphor, and, indeed, I know not how to describe the scene upon paper in plain words. Imagine to yourself a situation, where a man wants to bring about what he sees is impracticable, won't enable the old servants to his family to do his business; and yet is convinced that those whom he is more inclined to cannot carry it on; wishing on one side, and embarrassing on the other; and then you have the picture of the *present family*."

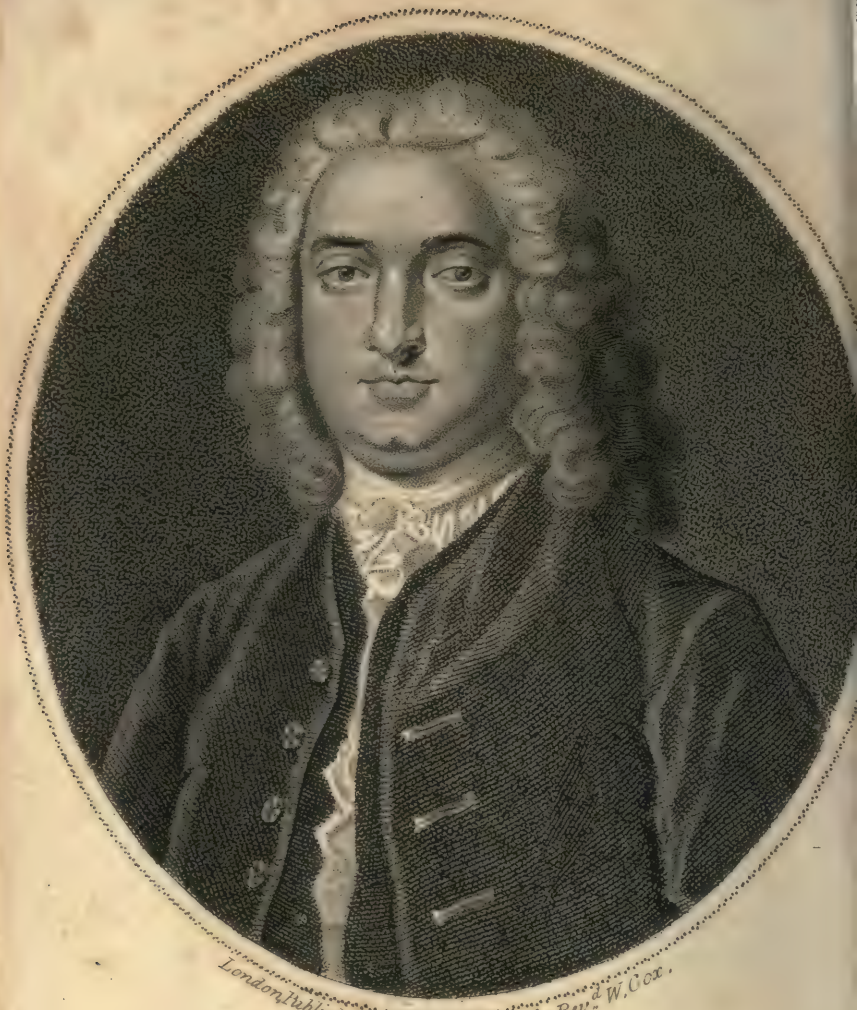
revive the spirit of the grand alliance which had animated the european states during the reigns of William and Anne, and reduced the power of France. England he wished to become the soul of the confederacy, and, by means of large subsidies, to obtain the co-operation of the austrian court, induce the Dutch to declare war against France, and concur in support of the common cause.

In conformity with this system, the dutch minister in England transmitted a plan for an immediate augmentation of their respective forces, and for a more vigorous prosecution of the war in the Netherlands. The king approved this plan, and warmly urged the execution of it, in his speech from the throne on the 14th of January. But the cabinet, affecting an aversion to involve the country in continental alliances, while the finances were embarrassed by the effects of the rebellion, opposed this plan; lord Harrington even wrote to the dutch minister in London, observing that the security of the Netherlands was a foreign though important consideration to England, but a domestic concern to the Dutch, and declined the proposed augmentation unless the Dutch should declare war against France.

This discordance of political views, on his favourite object, increased the dissatisfaction of

the king; he lamented that, on the death of lord Wimington, he had not placed lord Bath at the head of the Treasury, instead of conferring on Mr. Pelham that office, with the chancellorship of the exchequer, which had given to his party the preponderance in the cabinet, and the sole power in the government. In this crisis the king complained to lord Bath, that he was under the dominion of an aristocracy, and was hemmed in on all sides; he conjured him to break the combination and set him at liberty, and offered him full powers to form a new administration. Lord Bath expressed his willingness to obey his majesty's commands, but candidly displayed the difficulty he had to encounter, and declared that success must ultimately depend on the king's steadiness and resolution. The king promised his support; and lord Bath concerted with his friend, lord Granville, the means of dividing the Whigs, conciliating the Tories, and gaining the co-operation of the prince of Wales. He then summoned a meeting of the monied men, and obtained from them a promise of furnishing the supplies on terms more advantageous to the nation than those they had already settled with Mr. Pelham.

These preliminary arrangements being made, the king flattered himself that he could secure part of the cabinet, particularly lord Harrington,



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Winnington

THE RIGHT HON.BLE THOMAS WINNINGTO

From an Original at Pointy pool Park

whom he had endeavoured to conciliate in his journey to Hanover, both personally, and by means of his daughter the princess of Orange, who possessed great influence over him. He also expected to obtain the co-operation of Mr. Wimington *, of whom he had a high opinion, by appointing him chancellor of the exchequer, with the management of the house of commons.

In the beginning of February, the importuni-

* Thomas Wimington, grandson of Sir Francis Wimington, solicitor-general of Charles II. and son of Salvey Wimington, of Stanford Court, in Worcestershire, was born December 31, 1696. He was educated at Westminster school, from whence he went to Christ-church, in the university of Oxford. He was chosen for Droitwich in 1725, for which place he continued a member until 1741, when he was elected for Worcester.

In 1730 Mr. Wimington was appointed a lord of the admiralty; of the treasury, in 1736; cofferer of the household on the resignation of Mr. Walpole, 1741; and paymaster of the forces, in 1743.

He was a man of great penetration and quick parts; being a ready debater, he was very useful in supporting the measures of government in the house of commons, and possessed the intimate confidence of Sir Robert Walpole. He was among the distinguished votaries of wit and pleasure; and was an associate of lord Hervey, Mr. Fox, and Sir Charles Hanbury Williams.

Soon after his death, in 1746, a curious pamphlet made its appearance, which was intitled "An Apology for the Conduct a late celebrated Second-rate Minister," and said to have been found among his papers. It implicated him, with Sir Robert Walpole, in a supposed scheme to bring in the pretender. This publication, although plainly ironical, gained such credit as induced the executors of Mr. Wimington to declare, by ad-

ties of the Pelhams, in favour of Mr. Pitt, brought the affair to a crisis. On the 6th, lord Bath coming from the closet, observed to lord Harrington, that he had advised the king to negative Mr. Pitt's appointment, and to pursue proper measures on the continent. Lord Harrington coldly replied, "They who dictate in private, should be employed in public." On the 7th, the king, perceiving his attempts to detach lord Harrington from his party ineffectual, gave way to his indignation, and reproached him with obstinacy and ingratitude. The whole phalanx, no longer doubting of his intention to dismiss them, held a meeting at the lord chancellor's, on the evening of the 8th, and determined on instant resignation.

On Monday the 10th, the duke of Newcastle

vertisement that it was not found among his papers; and to offer a reward of fifty pounds for the discovery of the author.

Mr. Wimington married Love Read, sister and co-heiress of Sir James Read, bart. of Brocket Hall, Hertfordshire; by whom he left no issue. His estates of Brocket-hall were divided between his two sisters, lady Masham and Mrs. Wheeler; and Stanford Court, with his other estates in Worcestershire, descended to his cousin, Edward Wimington, who was created a baronet in 1755, and to whose son, Sir Edward Wimington, I am principally indebted for these particulars.

In the Historical Tour in Monmouthshire, chap. 29, I have published a letter from Sir Charles Hanbury Williams to Sir Thomas Robinson, on the death of Mr. Wimington; and the reader will find, at the conclusion of his political odes, an affectionate epitaph to the memory of his deceased friend.

and lord Harrington gave up the seals of their respective offices; and on the 11th, Mr. Pelham, to whom lord Granville had made overtures, also resigned, and told the king that he would avoid going into opposition as long as possible; but frankly added, that the united body of Whigs were averse to the earls of Bath and Granville. On the same day lord Gower gave up the privy seal, the duke of Bedford the place of first lord of the admiralty, and all the members of the boards of treasury and admiralty followed their example, excepting the adherents of the prince of Wales, lord Middlesex, and lord Archibald Hamilton.

In delivering the key of groom of the stole, the earl of Pembroke drew an unfavourable picture of the characters of Bath and Granville, and expatiated on their unpopularity. More resignations were hourly expected, particularly from lord chancellor Hardwicke, the dukes of Devonshire, Dorset, Grafton, and Richmond. Mr. Wimington also declared his intention of resigning his office of paymaster of the forces; and when the king offered him the chancellorship of the exchequer, he returned the seal three times into his majesty's hands, adding, "The new ministry, sir, can neither support your majesty nor themselves; they cannot depend upon more than 31 lords and 80 commoners."

During this scene of confusion, the king in vain attempted to fill the places of his former servants. On the resignation of the duke of Newcastle and lord Harrington, his page of the back stairs, Evans, came to Bath-house privately, in a chair with the curtains drawn, with a message from the king, desiring lord Bath to repair to the palace. His lordship waited on the king, accepted the office of first lord of the treasury, and received the two seals of the secretaries of state, which he conveyed to lord Granville, who was indisposed. Granville was immediately constituted secretary of state, and announced his appointment in a circular dispatch to the foreign ministers. Lord Winchelsea was destined for the admiralty, and lord Carlisle for the office of lord privy seal.

But the new arrangements were suddenly suspended. The king, surprised and intimidated at the numerous resignations, and the unexpected firmness of the old cabinet, faultered in his resolution, though lord Bath exhorted him to persevere, and offered, through the medium of the prince of Wales, to secure the Tories. He would not venture, however, to provoke the Whigs, who had supported his family on the throne while the rebellion was uncrushed; he was averse to a Tory administration, and still more unwilling to owe the formation of his

ministry to the intervention of his son. Perplexed and embarrassed, he shut himself up in his closet, and refused to admit those persons who were pouring in upon him with white staves, gold keys, and commissions. On the 12th he sent for Mr. Wimington, told him that he was the honestest man about his person*, and should have the honour of the reconciliation; and commanded him to inform Mr. Pelham that he would accept no more resignations, and was desirous that his old servants should be re-instated in their employments.

Thus terminated a ministry of forty hours. Lord Granville, the only person who had kissed hands, resigned his office; the seals were re-delivered on the 14th to the duke of Newcastle and the earl of Harrington, the old cabinet resumed their employments, Mr. Pitt was constituted vice-treasurer of Ireland, and, on the death of Mr. Wimington, became paymaster of the forces.

* From Sir James Gray to Sir Thomas Robinson, Venice, March 26, 1746.

The lord chancellor observes, in a note to his son, dated February 12, 7 at night, "The king sent a message this forenoon to Mr. Pelham, by Mr. Wimington, to let him know that his majesty was determined to accept no more resignations, and intimating that he would have his old servants to return and accept their places; that he expected an answer to-morrow morning. Res magna agitur; sentio amplius deliberandum. The king's honour, our own honour and security are to be consulted."

Although the king thus wisely yielded to the torrent, yet, with that elevation of character which disdained dissimulation, he did not affect to conceal his displeasure; he dismissed lord Bath with marks of favour and confidence, desired him to write an account of the whole transaction, and even declared it was a shame that a man (alluding to the duke of Newcastle) who was not fit for a chamberlain to a petty court in Germany, should be forced on him and the nation*. But he carried his resentment against lord Harrington to a still higher degree. In November his majesty ungraciously dismiss-

* The narrative of this transaction is principally taken, from Memoranda written by the late earl of Hardwicke, from the communications of his father and Mr. Wimington; from the imformation of the bishop of Salisbury (Dr. Douglas); from a letter of Mr. Walpole to Mr. Trevor, dated Feb. 14, 1745-6; and one of Sir James Gray to Sir Thomas Robinson, dated March 26, 1746.

The particulars of lord Bath's transactions with the king are taken from bishop Newton's Life, who received them from lord Bath himself, with whom he lived on terms of the strictest intimacy; and this account is corroborated by the respectable testimony of the bishop of Salisbury, who frequently heard the same particulars from the earl of Bath. Yet the anonymous author of the Anecdotes of the Life of William Pitt, earl of Chatham, presumes to call in question bishop Newton's veracity.

"Dr. Newton says, that lord Bath wrote an account of these transactions, at the desire of George the Second; but that, on the death of his son lord Pulteney, in the reign of George the Third, his lordship burned it.—*Fide indignus.*" Vol. I. p. 212, edit. 1794. If the assertions of a venerable prelate,

ed him from the office of secretary of state, and was, not without great difficulty, persuaded to appoint him lord lieutenant of Ireland.

The friends of the prince of Wales continued in office; and a few changes in the subordinate departments of government took place, which added still greater weight to the cabinet. Mr. Fox succeeded to the office of secretary at war, in the room of Sir William Yonge, who, on the promotion of Mr. Pitt, became vice-treasurer of Ireland. Lord Barrington was placed at the board of admiralty, and Mr. Welbore Ellis at that of the treasury.

During this struggle for power, Mr. Walpole, conscious of Mr. Pitt's great parliamentary abilities, and aware that no administration,

prelate, whose character for veracity was unquestionable, and who had no motives for deception, are to be thus petulantly contradicted, on what foundation can historical evidence be made to depend?

I think it a duty I owe to the public, in mentioning this wretched compilation, to declare, that, from the access I have had to the papers and documents of the times, I find the Life of the Earl of Chatham superficial and inaccurate, principally drawn from newspapers and party pamphlets, and interspersed, perhaps, with a few anecdotes communicated in desultory conversations by earl Temple. In affecting to give a volume of important state papers, the editor has raked together a collection of speeches, memorials, and letters, the greater part of which are derived from periodical publications.

It becomes a matter of extreme regret that the life of so great a statesman and orator has not been delineated by a more faithful and able hand.

formed by lord Granville, could withstand the efforts of the party which adhered to the Pelhams, had the courage to submit to the king a memorial, recommending his majesty to comply with the request of his ministers, and confer on Mr. Pitt the office of secretary at war*.

" Should his majesty, although unwillingly, condescend (and a very great condescension it would indeed be,) to take a certain person into a certain place, it seems to be the only probable measure to carry on his business effectually in parliament, especially in regard to foreign affairs. Should his majesty, as is now currently reported, absolutely refuse to come into this measure, it is to be apprehended that things would run into confusion in parliament, as the house is now constituted.

" Those that advise the king to reject this measure, have the advantage of speaking agreeably to his majesty's own inclinations; but it is well known, that their motives are founded upon their own particular views of avarice and

* This memorial is preserved in the handwriting of Mr. Walpole, among the Walpole Papers, endorsed by himself. " The substance of this paper was repeated to his majesty on the 28th of February 1745-6, when the contest was depending about the admission of Mr. W. Pitt to be secretary at war." The date of this paper is perhaps erroneous, and should be January instead of February. It was probably read to the king by the duke of Devonshire.

ambition, without considering the dangerous consequences to his majesty's affairs.

"Those that advise his majesty to come into this measure, have the same opinion as to the person in question, with regard to his past behaviour, as his majesty has, and as heartily detest it; and therefore cannot possibly have any other view, in this advice, than as they think it absolutely necessary for his majesty's service. Should his majesty reject this measure, as it will be then visible, and is now generally believed, that those who are not in place have his majesty's preferable countenance and affection, in opposition to those that are in the chief stations of his service; these must be obliged to retire, not out of pique or resentment, but because, for want of his majesty's authority and support, they will not be able to serve him in parliament. The consequence of which, in all likelihood, will be, that others will succeed in their places, whose characters (whether justly or unjustly is not the question,) are so odious, both within doors and without, and even in foreign countries, that they will still be less able to carry on his majesty's business, whatever their personal talents and abilities may be, especially in this parliament, where, upon their coming into his majesty's service, it is to be apprehended that such a ferment may arise, as to turn the

proceedings there into questions of enquiries and impeachments, instead of the true interest of his majesty and the nation at this great exigency. This exigency seems indeed to be so great, that it cannot suffer a dissolution of the parliament; and could that be, of what principles and complexion a new one would be composed, is too obvious to every eye, without making it necessary to enlarge upon it.

"The admitting the person in question into the place desired, would be the *coup de grace* to the pretended patriots, for the following reason. The Patriots, in the last elections, joined with the Tories, which made the parliament so strong and prevalent, against the great man, and minister, that he was obliged to retire. Incidents have since happened to divide these Patriots among themselves, and separate them so from the Tories, that there remains only this squadron of lord Cobham to make the once formidable body of Patriots of no consequence. If this squadron should be admitted into the present administration, and consequently joined to the old Whig corps, his majesty's business would probably be carried on well, by this coalition, until the end of this parliament; the Whig party would be again united, and there would be a hopeful prospect of getting a new one, of principles thoroughly attached to his

majesty's person and government; especially considering the great breach into the Tory party, by the accession of the duke of Bedford and lord Gower, with their friends, to the present ministry; which accession is thought to have had a great influence in keeping the disaffected in the suspected counties quiet when the rebels came there, and will certainly be of great weight in the next election, if those noblemen should continue, in their several stations, to strengthen the Whig interest. But, if retired or removed, they would probably return to their old friends and party, and the majority of the next parliament would consist of Tories.

"These are the sentiments of a person ever unvariably attached to his majesty's government for the sake of his country, and to his person out of duty and gratitude for his majesty's infinite goodness to himself and family; that has no particular confidence or connection with any person now living, who neither wants nor desires more than what he has, and consequently can have no bias or views, but what long experience, and knowledge of persons and parliaments, have suggested to him for his majesty's service.

"And no soul whatsoever, besides the bearer hereof, is in anywise acquainted with his submitting these reflections to his majesty's better

judgment; humbly begging pardon for taking this liberty, and that it may remain in his majesty's breast only."

Mr. Walpole, having a violent abhorrence of a Tory administration, a particular aversion to lord Bath, and a high regard for Mr. Pelham and the chancellor, was not displeased with the termination of the contest. A repartee of his, on this occasion, is still preserved in the family. During the two days administration, being told that all was *settled*, he replied, "I presume in the same manner as what we call a *settlement* in Norfolk; when a house is cracked from top to bottom, and ready to fall, we say it is *settled*." The wits of the times also indulged themselves at the expence of the short-lived ministry. Sir William Stanhope, on lord Granville's resignation, remarked, "That he was only surprised he had kept his office so long;" and another joker observed, "It was unsafe to walk the streets at night, for fear of being pressed for a cabinet counsellor*."

The transient alteration in the ministry made no permanent sensation on the public mind: all things returned to their antient channel, and the remainder of the session was no less unanimous than the former. The supplies were granted without opposition, and the proceedings

* Sir James Gray to Sir Thomas Robinson, March 26, 1746.

were so unanimous that they scarcely produced a debate, and are only known by the titles of the acts. The royal cause was rendered wholly triumphant by the memorable defeat of the rebels at Culloden, and the duke of Cumberland became the idol of the nation.

The confidential correspondence which Mr. Walpole maintained with Mr. Trevor, and which has furnished this work with so many interesting letters, terminated in the course of this year, in consequence of Mr. Trevor's return to England. The last letter, preserved in the Hampden Collection, is dated June 21, and July 2, 1746.

" Your last envelope was of the 25th, N. S. to which the former, relating to the insolent interposition of France, by the infamous and impertinent avowal of a scandalous dutch agent†, and known pensionary to France, in favour of the pretender's son and his adherents, and endured by the States without the highest resentment, by an immediate revocation and punishment of their own accord, has indeed entirely sunk, silenced, and alienated the *one*

† Mr. Walpole alludes to a letter written from Van Hoey, the dutch embassador at Paris, to the duke of Newcastle, claiming the liberation of some british officers, adherents of the pretender, who were taken prisoners, on the pretext of their being in the service of France.

and only friend that the ministers of Holland, and the States, as a State, had left in this country. Indeed, the person I mean is a friend of no great consequence, as you will easily believe, when I tell you it is *myself*. I, and I alone, have constantly, and from the beginning of the unfortunate events in France, both in private and public, dared to attribute the variety of fatal accidents and actions, such as, the shameful cowardice at Fontenoy; the scandalous surrender, without defence, and without punishment; the forbearing to declare war against France, though under the strongest obligations by treaty to do it; the receding of their ships, at the time they were actually joined with ours in defence of the coast, when an invasion was expected from France; their suffering their wicked minister to continue, even after revocation, in the court of France, and avowedly acting the part of a declared enemy to England, the best ally to the States: I say, these, and many other signs, in appearance, of subserviency to the French, and of disregard, enmity, or contempt of us, I have dared, against the cry of all sorts of people, to attribute to the inability, divisions, and want of an executive power in the government; where resolutions, in consequence, are founded upon an unanimity, and where often, on that account, a small and

obstinate minority prevails against a majority. I have justified the chief ministers there, as being honest and able men, and of principles well affected to the common cause, from the least blemish of treachery, design, and particular affection to France, or disaffection to this country; and asserted that none of those faults, that carry so black and base an aspect as some of them do, were acts of the State, or the sense or intentions of the dutch ministers, or of the bulk of the nation.

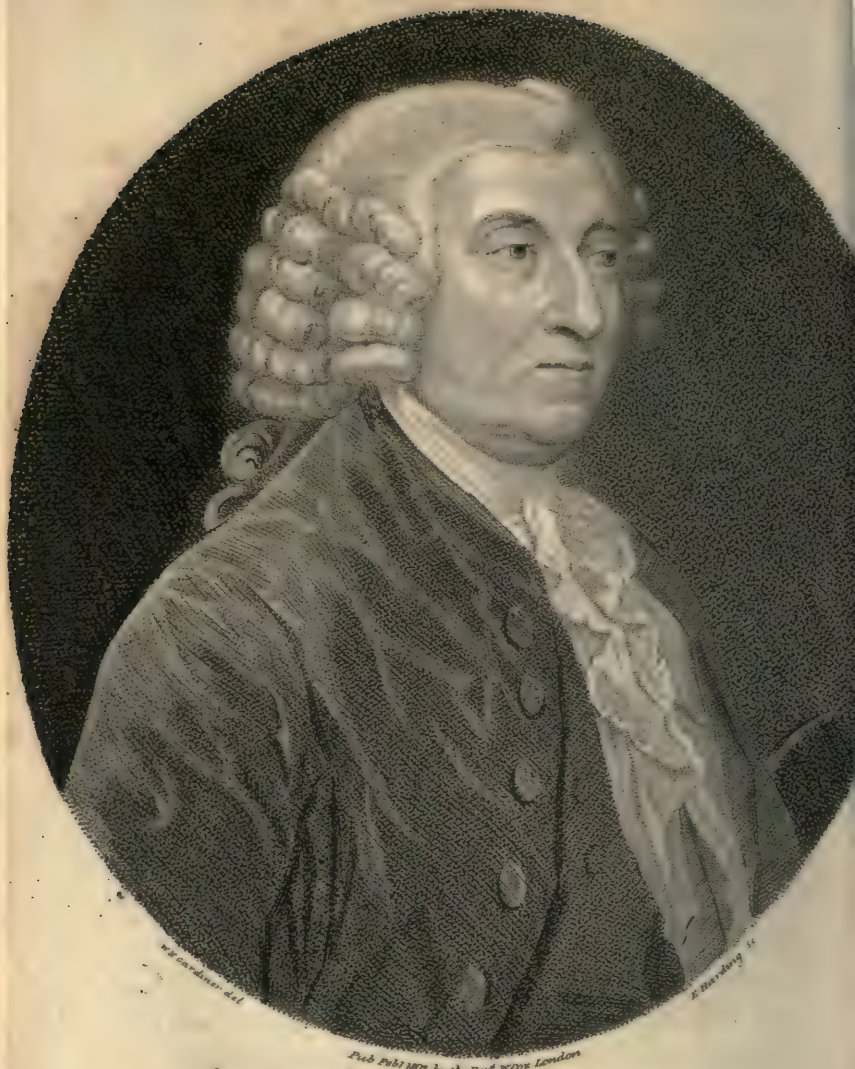
" But now I have nothing more to say; I really think an unaccountable infatuation, like the sickness of their cattle, has possessed and infected the whole country. And, indeed, I have nothing more to say in behalf of my old friend the pensionary; and, between you and me, I have some time been of opinion, (if he is not in the interest of France, as I will not yet believe him to be,) that he is a pious honest good citizen, but not a great and able minister; and I can by no means reconcile his conduct, as far as I have been informed, to my notions of a minister of spirit and resolution, sincerely convinced of our having one common interest, of the exorbitant and dangerous greatness of France, and of the fatal consequences to the liberty and trade of both nations, should she become and remain the mistress of the Low Countries."

"July 2d, O. S. I had wrote thus far, as you will see by the date, some days ago; I have since seen the duke of Newcastle's answer to the impudent Van Hoey, and your memorial that accompanied the delivering of it to the States, which cannot be sufficiently commended; and in the last gazette I see the pensionary's retirement to the Spa, for six weeks, at this great and critical juncture; the occasion of which I can easily imagine must arise from the uneasiness of his situation, both with respect to peace and war, and the unaccountable management of both in both countries. All these rouse in me, instead of resentment towards him, the greatest compassion, and increase my strong inclination for peace. For after our most fatal indolence (to call it no worse) in not marching after the French, terrified and disheartened at the loss of the battle of Dettingen in 1743; after the misunderstanding and difference between the generals of the allies in 1744, which lost us the opportunity, I believe, of surprising and taking Lisle that campaign; and, above all, our backwardness (it was a most unaccountable mistake that weakness in the good pensionary,) in not making the king of Prussia's offer of a reconciliation or neutrality, with the queen of Hungary, a condition, *sine qua non,* of our subsidies and assistance to

the house of Austria, in the beginning of 1745, which might, by well concerted measures, have made the allies superior to France in all parts of Europe, prevented the conquest of the Netherlands, and not have put the king of Sardinia almost under the necessity of making a separate peace. After (I say where the fault was I can't or won't guess,) we had neglected to improve these providential incidents; I say after such neglects, considering the irretrievable consequences of them, and the circumstances of both nations in all respects, my inclinations and prayers have always strongly tended to a peace. To what peace? to a dishonourable and insecure one? I may be asked. Things good and bad are of a comparative nature, and so more or less according to circumstances; and although a bad peace was made at Utrecht, considering the advantages of the war, I can't flatter myself that an unsuccessful war can procure an advantageous peace. But if we continue to carry on a ruinous and losing war, sure I am that the peace must be still more disadvantageous. The saving the Low Countries out of the hands of France, is the great and essential point to this nation; and if the price asked for it is so unpopular that a ministry dare not venture to give into it, they may pursue the war, until not only the Low Countries, but the price they

may have in their hands to give for them, may be lost too What then will be the peace, and where will be the popularity?

"This doctrine did not make me backward in granting the supplies to support the common cause abroad. My friends and I were more earnest for them to keep up a good countenance, and to save the appearances of our being entirely undone, and immediately exposed to the mercy of our implacable enemy. But these supplies, and this countenance, should have been made use of as a weight to procure, and not to reject the terms of a tolerable peace. The minute I saw all appearances of that nature vanish, I returned from parliament hither, not out of humour, for I will never shew myself so publicly, but out of heart or hopes of seeing any end to our troubles, or the progress of France; and, perhaps, I am not much out of the way in imagining that some reflections of the same nature may have contributed to carry my old friend the pensionary to the Spa. And now, notwithstanding the glorious seeming effectual destruction of the scotch rebels by the duke of Cumberland, notwithstanding the advantages gained, and that may still for some time be gained by the Austrians and king of Sardinia over the French and Spaniards, I am afraid I foresee (God forbid that it should be so!) as great ca-



Dear Boy,
yours anxious Father
Hereford

Hampden —

ROBERT TREVOR 1st VISCOUNT HAMPDE

lamities threatening this nation, not in the person of the king, but with respect to the government, by the year 1748, as happened in the last century about that time. Should I go on, I should really grow melancholy: such a variety of black circumstances crowd upon my thoughts as I write, and have conveyed my pen much farther than I intended, or indeed as becomes one so insignificant, and so intirely removed from the sphere of business. But your goodness will excuse this inconsiderate rant," &c.

He then mentions his intention of sending his son to Venice and Vienna. He adds, "My letters, and my son's name, will serve to make that place, by means of my friend Sir Thomas Robinson, as agreeable and as acceptable as a *Walpole* can be at that court. For, by a preposterous way of reasoning, peculiar to the Austrians, although our family have always been in a *proper manner*, and the old Walpolean corps (for so the body of Whigs now in parliament are called,) are now the chief support of the austrian cause; yet our name is not of good odeur at Vienna."

Notwithstanding the address and judgment with which Mr. Trevor managed the untractable spirit of the dutch ministers, he experienced several embarrassments and unpleasant circumstances. The mission of lord Chesterfield to

the Hague seemed to imply a tacit censure of his abilities and conduct. The freedom with which, in imitation of his patron, Mr. Walpole, he wrote on hanoverian politics, and his incessant representations on the necessity of peace, gave umbrage to the king, and to those members of the cabinet who promoted the continuance of the war: his situation accordingly became so irksome, that his friend, Mr. Pelham, after announcing the embassy of lord Chesterfield, confidentially* advised him to solicit his recal, and promised assistance in promoting his interests at home with his brother and the king†. Mr.

* Mr. Pelham to Mr. Trevor, October 29, 1736. Hampden Papers.

† In 1756 Mr. Trevor assumed the surname of Hampden, in consequence of the will of his relation, John Hampden, esq. who bequeathed to him Hampden House, and large estates in Buckinghamshire. Mr. Hampden was great-grandson of the celebrated John Hampden, killed at the battle of Chargrave Field, from whose daughter, Ruth, Mr. Trevor was likewise lineally descended.

In 1764 Mr. Trevor became lord Trevor, by the death of his last surviving half-brother, and was created in 1776 viscount Hampden; relative to which event an anecdote is preserved in the family. In an audience, the king said to him, "My lord, why do you suffer the great name of Hampden to drop?" "Peers," replied lord Trevor, "do not change their name without the permission of the sovereign." Some years afterwards the king proposed to create him viscount Hampden, and enhanced the distinction by the gracious manner in which he announced his intention by means of his son-in-law, the earl of Suffolk, secretary of state.

Trevor accordingly obtained his recal; and was soon after his return nominated commissioner of the customs in Ireland, and in 1759 obtained the office of joint post-master general.

Lord Hampden died 1779, aged 78, highly beloved and regretted by his family and numerous friends.

His lordship retained extreme fondness for classical literature to the latest period of his life, and amused his leisure hours with various compositions in latin verse, which do honour to his learning and taste. His son, hon. John Trevor, has given a testimony of filial veneration, by a splendid edition of some of his father's latin poems, printed in folio, with the beautiful types of Bodoni. Lord Hampden also wrote notes on Milton and Martial, and a commentary on Horace, which his son thus mentions, "A long and valuable work, which formed his favourite amusement during several years; it contains the most elaborate scholia upon the whole of Horace's works, and is, perhaps, one of the most severe, erudite, and elegant works of criticism that exists."

CHAPTER 29.

1746.

Divisions in the Cabinet—State of Foreign and Domestic Affairs displayed in the Correspondence between Mr. Walpole and Mr. Pelham.

THE triumphant manner in which the cabinet was restored, the accession of strength which they acquired, and the unanimous support of parliament, inspired the public with hopes, that as they were now free from the controul of lord Granville, and possessed full power to pursue their own system, affairs both at home and abroad would be conducted with more consistency and success.

On the contrary, the ministry were more weak and divided than before. The duke of Newcastle, in virtue of his official department, aspired to the sole conduct of foreign affairs, and more fully displayed that natural jealousy against his colleagues which his dread of Granville's ascendancy had hitherto contributed to suppress. His suspicions extended even to his brother, Mr. Pelham: the only person in the cabinet in whom he placed implicit confidence was the lord chancellor, whose professional duties, as well as his obligations to the duke, gave him neither leisure

nor inclination to interpose often in foreign transactions; and who principally exerted his endeavours to conciliate the two brothers. The inefficiency of this divided cabinet was increased by the king's total want of confidence in his ministers.

The duke of Newcastle, either for the sake of promoting his influence, or perceiving the imbecility of his system, began to adopt the very measures which he had reprobated when proposed by lord Granville, and seemed eager to gratify the inclinations of the king in a more vigorous prosecution of the war in the Netherlands. This system was disapproved by Mr. Pelham, who had opposed lord Granville in the same measures, from a conviction that they were inimical to the interests of England, and ruinous in the disordered state of the finances.

A few letters, which have been saved from the wreck of the correspondence between Mr. Walpole and Mr. Pelham, display the candour of that minister, the divided state of the cabinet, and the perplexities derived from the opposition of Leicester-house.

"There was a debate," writes Mr. Pelham, in a letter dated June 12th, 1746, "in the house of lords this day, upon a motion of lord Lonsdale, who would have addressed the king, to defer the sending abroad any troops 'till it was

more clear that we are in no danger at home, which he would by no means allow to be the case at present. The duke of Newcastle spoke well for one that was determined to carry on the war; Granville was present, but said nothing, flattered the duke of Newcastle when the debate was over, and gave a strong negative to lord Lonsdale's motion." * * * * * *

After describing the uncertain state of affairs in Holland, he concludes: Thus things stand, my dear Horace, abroad, and if I were to write an hour, and rack my brain to the utmost, I could not say one word that would recompense this ill news, by any thing I can observe at home. I heartily wish you all happiness where you are; nothing but a total destruction can disturb that; but we that are rowers in the ship cannot expect that quiet. We must pray for better times, though we cannot expect those prayers will be heard; for in truth we don't deserve them."

"Greenwich-park, Aug. 23, 1746. I question much whether your expedients, though right in themselves, will do at this time. We have abundance of heads, and every one actuated by his own passions, or particular views. The duke* means well, and, could every thing be decided in the manner of the battle of Culloden,

* Of Cumberland.

would execute very well too. I have the honour, I flatter myself, to be very well with him, and shall take care to use the little interest I have with him cautiously, in order the more essentially to serve him and the whole; for upon him the whole depends.

"Osorio* and Wassener both assure us, that the armies of their respective masters will follow the enemy into France itself, and by that means cause such a diversion, or make such a havock, as shall enable our plenipotentiaries to act with proper dignity at Breda. I heartily wish they may be rightly informed; but in the mean time, I must tell you, the empress queen has absolutely refused to send an embassador to this *petit congrés*, and we have as absolutely insisted that she shall. Such a *piece* has come from Vienna as you perhaps, have seen many a time, but as I never read with attention before: one would have thought that they had been the conquerors every where, and that instead of receiving from, they had paid subsidies to, Great Britain; that they were so good allies, that, forgetful of their own particular interests, they thought of nothing so much as procuring us a free navigation in the american seas, and maintaining to the crown of England that inestimable fortress of Louisburg. You easily understand all this, for this language was held at Vienna,

* The Sardinian and Austrian ministers.

even before the last victory in Italy. The king of Sardinia certainly talks well, and will, I dare say, consistently with his own security, effect what is proposed.

" In the mean time, dear Horace, what shall we do another year? The Dutch have, by Mr. Buys, declared to lord Sandwich, that they cannot, on any account, think of another campaign; and if they cannot, where shall we find ground to fight upon, or money to pay our troops? Let us, therefore, profit of our present meliorated situation; drive the enemy, if we can, and negotiate at the same time.

" I know your discretion too well to think myself in any danger of having discovered what I write to you. I own I am full of the public at present; I know you are always so: to whom, therefore, can one unburden so properly, as to one whose experience will enable him to make proper reflections, whose zeal for the public intitles him to know its concerns, and whose friendship will prompt him to excuse errors, and cover those weaknesses which I am sensible I too often fall into, for want of the assistance of those on whose judgment and integrity I have all my life depended.

" Adieu, dear Horace, and believe me no indolent servant to the public, and your most sincere friend."

During Mr. Walpole's retirement at Wolterton, the rapid progress of the french arms in the Low Countries filled him with alarm and despondency; he was neither dazzled by the temporary advantages gained by the Austrians and Sardinians in Italy, or elated with the hopes of successful descents on the coast of France. He was deeply affected with the divided state of the cabinet, and impressed with a melancholy prospect of the danger which arose from the divisions in the royal family. In his familiar correspondence with Mr. Yorke, he drew an interesting sketch of the dismal state of foreign and domestic affairs, which he calls a *dream:*

" DEAR SIR, October 6, 1746*.

" Your goodness in renewing a correspondence so agreeable to me should not be damped for want of a suitable return on my part, nor from punctilio (a thing which true friendship abhors) in expecting regular answers from each other; but my having nothing to say that deserves the trouble of a letter, checks my inclination to write, and blunts my pen. Should I sally out, and set upon you with an account of my rural occupations and amusements, with my wholesome exercise of the Georgics by day, and pleasurable lecture of them in Virgil at night, you are so conversant with that great author, and

* Hardwicke Papers.

so happily seated to enjoy the fulness of all country delights, that you would smile at the idleness of my attempt to entertain you in that way.

"Should I, forgetting my woods, waters, and lawns, let my thoughts take a ramble into the spacious fields, or rather wilderness, of politics, 'tis such a gloomy and melancholy scene that you would be soon weary of my dismal perspective of affairs abroad. Look into Flanders, and you will see, with the town and citadel of Namur (the strong and eminent barrier against our most formidable enemy,) entirely destroyed, if not recovered and rebuilt, the trade and safety of Britain rendered for ever precarious; and can the most sanguine reflections present to you a probability of its being recovered either by peace or war? Will the french have generosity enough to restore it voluntarily, in amicable conferences, without conquest or equivalent? And how shall we engage victory to be on our side, or where find an equivalent for them? Have we any hopes of a superiority in the Low Countries this year, or to have near such strength there as will not make the odds of a battle greatly against us? Will the successes of our allies in Italy occasion any diversion of service to our army in Flanders? Will the Austrians and Piedmontese, in consequence of their late victory, agree to prosecute the common cause

against France? Did want of ability or harmony prevent them making, for above two months together, any good use of the first battle they won? Will not the Genoese, though it costs them dear, gain the protection of the house of Austria, so far as to disappoint in a great measure, the satisfaction which the king of Sardinia may desire and deserve? Will it not be too late in the year for our allies in Italy, should they agree, to make such an impression on the southern parts of France, as to draw the attention of that crown, and give us an opportunity to make an advantage of it in Flanders? Or have we such hopes of the pacific temper of the king of Spain, as to give the French the least jealousy or uneasiness, and by that means forward their disposition for a peace? Will our maritime expeditions intimidate our enemies, or satisfy even reasonable people at home?

"Have our American projects been promoted, and suddenly stopt backward and forward, at a great expence, upon steady uniform councils? Have not our colonies been under various and contradictory orders, which must have cost them great sums, with great disappointments and discontents? And is not the secret expedition now on foot undertaken purely to save appearances, that the vast charges of our naval armament this year may not seem to have been

flung away? Can there be any real prospect of any success of consequence from a descent upon the coast of France; or will it serve any other purpose than, perhaps, to provoke France to a retaliation, and to give us new troubles at home? Nay, perhaps the best thing to be desired may be, that our fleets may, without great loss, be scattered by the high winds, and not suffered to make any attempt, to prevent the ridicule of our being engaged in an useless and destructive one to ourselves, in this distracted state of things, with the entire loss of the Low Countries; the farce of a congress at Breda; costly but insignificant equipments at sea; extraordinary demands on account of the late rebellion, and the prosecution of the rebels; nothing to be said to animate and encourage the well-affected, and secret and vindictive resentment among the enemies of the government.

"Upon what foot will the king meet his people in parliament? What can be said, and what can be done? Can there be any plan of peace, or of warlike operations, ready to be opened or intimated to the house? As to the first, I think, in the nature of things, it is impossible; as to the war, I am afraid we shall in November be as backward in our schemes as we have hitherto yearly been; and yet king William and the duke of Marlborough had always by

that time concerted their plans for the following campaign.

"Well; but the parliament must meet: we must not lie down and die; we must make our utmost efforts, and not subject ourselves to a base and inglorious peace, that will expose us afterwards to the mercy of France. Will the Dutch, or can the Dutch, (whose late pensionary* died of a broken heart,) concur in such expence of measures as will, joined with the Austrians, give us a superiority to act offensively in Flanders? Or will the Austrians have the recovery of that country more at heart than they have yet had the saving of it? Will they, for that purpose, in conjunction with the Piedmontese, enter next year into Provence, besiege, supported by a fleet from us, Toulon? Or will they not rather, as they did the last war, turn their views and efforts towards Naples and Sicily; and by that means fix the pacific and wavering king of Spain more than ever in the interest and union with France, and leave the re-conquest of Flanders to the maritime powers?

"These reflections, you will say, are obvious, and must and will occur to those whose business it is to think of them, and will, without doubt, be represented in their proper light, and in a

* Vanderheim.

proper place. Will they so? I hope they will. But let me pause a little: shall I go on? I am come to a ticklish point.

"*Periculosæ plenum opus aleæ.*"

"But honest freedom is allowable among friends. Will then the ministers concert together, and all agree in one uniform plan of measures? Will they, if they agree, all and equally recommend and support it in a certain place; although they may suspect that their advice will not be entirely welcome there, as it might prove useful if followed? Will, then, a minister* that loves to do every thing himself, and is so jealous as not to endure a seeming preference to himself in the closet, even in favour of his nearest relation; will he, having been lately flattered into belief that he has more credit there than he really has, or will ever have there; will he, I say, risk the loss of imaginary credit, by supporting a proposition that he finds to be disagreeable? Will another minister†, who once had great credit, but having lost it on a certain occasion, is as desirous as ever to recover it, venture to speak plain and steadily? If these should prove faint and feeble in matters directly belonging to their own province, the sincerity, steadiness and eloquence of others, not so

* Duke of Newcastle. † Lord Harrington.

immediately from their offices and stations concerned, will not, I am afraid, avail much. They will, I apprehend, be considered as understanding the *Law** and the *Finances*†, within their respective departments; but be told that foreign affairs are out of their sphere.

"But supposing all those, who, by their situation, are proper to advise, should settle among themselves a plan, and should resolve and pursue the resolution with great loyalty and firmness—

"I am now again at a stand, and my pen trembles in my hand. If I go on.

"*Incedo per ignes*
"*Suppositos cineri doloso.*"

"However, sincerity prevails. I say then, will a plan for peace or war, recommended by the zealous concurrence of all his servants, be adopted by the master? Have they his real credit and affection? and are there not those out of place who have a greater influence with him? And will they ever suggest or promote a scheme that may redound, in the execution of it, to the honour of them that are in the administration? Nay, will they not endeavour, and be able, by a whisper artfully conveyed, to obstruct and divert the pursuit of the wholesome advice of his immediate and faithful servants?

* Lord Hardwicke. † Mr. Pelham.

" But there is still something more preposterous and absurd. There is a sort of *imperium in imperio*, a court within a court. The royal family is split into two branches, separate and independent of each other, and each in effect has a share in the government; and while the father and the son are divided in every other respect, they both seem to have a confidence in the same persons, who, as is often the case of those out of employment, are more attached to the son than to the father; but, having a secret credit with the latter, direct their advice to him in a manner agreeable to the inclination of the former. While every body perceives and knows this management but the father, the son, besides the natural weight of his own servants in parliament, gets an increase of strength in the house, and has it frequently in his power to turn the scale in questions of the greatest nicety and importance, and to disappoint the ministry in the means necessary to carry on the affairs of government; and then care will be taken, by artful insinuations conveyed to the closet, to lay such a disappointment to the weakness and want of ability in the ministers, and not to the various intrigues arising from the combination of different causes, and the confused state of things at court.

" But, to complete this distraction, it is whis-

pered, that a most unaccountable and dangerous phenomenon is ready to break forth; which is, that the elder brother and heir entertains jealousy of the younger, whose glorious actions, although conducted with the greatest modesty for the salvation of the whole family, have created more uneasiness than satisfaction, and have been the secret cause, from certain brigues, why prince Charles of Lorrain had the command of the allied army in Flanders this campaign: that a great intimacy has been struck up between the court of Vienna, and that of Leicester-fields; and that upon this foundation, and by a proper management, deducible from what goes before, the house of Austria flatters her selfish pride with being able to govern at St. James's, and by that means to carry on their own views and the war according to their own private notions; and that no british minister shall either dare, or be able to oppose or controul their presumptuous schemes.

" In the mean time the popularity restored to this royal family, by the brave and prudent conduct of the duke, will by degrees wear out; the apprehensions of popery and slavery, from the great progress made by the rebels at first, will be forgot and vanish; the sense of our melancholy situation abroad, and the fatal consequences of it to this nation, will be universally felt; cries and clamours will be heard in our city

and our streets; the disaffected will recover from their despondency, and, resuming new spirits, will stir up opposition in this parliament while it lasts, and will be active to secure a majority on their side in the election of a new one.

"The ministry will, 'tis to be feared, be so embarrassed and distressed, that those who have secret credit at court will represent the impossibility of retrieving affairs in their hands. But as these gentlemen behind the curtain are so detested by the Whigs as to make it impossible for them, if employed, to gain sufficient credit and assistance from that quarter to manage the helm, the necessity of taking in the Tories will be suggested; in short, this general confusion will end, either by a premature dissolution of the present, or by the choice of the future parliament, in a Tory administration; and the consequences of such an event are too obvious to require or endure an enumeration of them.

"But you will say, where is the remedy to this calamitous situation? To which I reply, Prussia, Prussia, Prussia! Real friendship and strict alliance with that crown might have prevented these misfortunes; that only can now retrieve them: or, let it be peace or war, that only can save Europe, and in particular England, from the fetters of France.

"I had dreamt thus far the other night, when

my loud cry of *Prussia* startled and awakened me; and, having rubbed my eyes, I was glad to find, upon reflection, it was all a mere dream, and as such I send it to you, for want of something more useful or pleasant, to keep up our correspondence, and to pass away a tedious winter's evening.

" Dear Sir, your pardon for the impertinent trouble of a dream! Adieu, your ever most affectionate, The Political Dreamer."

Mr. Walpole also transmitted this singular letter to his friend Mr. Pelham, inclosed in one which is not among the papers at Wolterton, and to which the minister made the following reply:

" DEAR SIR, October 25th, 1746.

" Your kind letter of the 18th I received, as also the copy of what you call your dream, addressed, some few days before, to an anonymous correspondent. I believe I guess the young gentleman for whom you entertain so favourable an opinion, and, if I do, my own imagination follows yours in that partiality, as it does in the sentiments you express in what I call your confidential correspondence with him.

" I wish what you say may prove a dream, but I fear it will, before we expect it, prove a reality. I have not for some time expected any

good fruit from our conferences at Breda, indeed never since lord Sandwich went there; not from any prejudice or opinion of want of ability in lord Sandwich; but as I knew he went with a disposition to please those that sent him, and as I saw their view was rather to convince the court of Vienna that we would do nothing without their consent and participations, than to give satisfaction to Holland, that we did actually, and *bona fide*, mean to make up this burthensome, unequal, and impracticable war, whenever we could obtain honourable and decent terms of peace. By this means, poor Trevor, who has always wished the latter, because he found the former endless and impracticable, has lost all his credit here; and is, as fast as we can bring it about, losing the credit he had amongst the well intentioned people at the Hague. Foreseeing what would happen, I have secured for him lord Duplin's employment in Ireland, who will make a vacancy in that commission, by succeeding Tommy Brudenel in the board of trade here. I mention this, as I know you wish Trevor well; and I have done it, as I know he is to suffer for adhering to what, I think, every honest and sensible man should turn his thoughts.

" Our conferences at Breda are at a stand; the French not allowing the admission of the

austrian plenipotentiary, and we as firmly insisting that he shall be admitted. In this situation every one called out for a plan, either of peace, or for another campaign. None, you may imagine, was louder for this than myself, having for some years experienced the hard work of calling for supplies, and at the same time not being able to say how they would be employed, or what proportion our allies would or could furnish on their parts. His grace, who is all military, and will take the word of an austrian minister for true sterling, as lord Granville used to put it off for such, though *he* knew, at the same time, it was arrant brass, has prepared one and shewn it to the king, got his approbation easily, as it was founded on his own principles, and then, by the king's order, shewed it to lord Harrington, lord chancellor, and myself. Having seen it before, you may imagine how his lordship took such a communication, and that not the better for having discovered the duke of Newcastle and lord Sandwich had kept a correspondence ever since the latter went to the Hague, without ever communicating or owning any thing of it to him.

" My dear Horace, how easily do we forget our own complaints against others, whenever we have an opportunity of putting in practice the same or much more extraordinary measures

ourselves. I have, however, kept things from breaking out as yet, and the great desire a certain person* has to keep his employment, and to try to recover his lost credit, will, I conceive, keep things from a public rupture some time longer. The plan has no harm in it; it promises for us 18,000 Hanoverians, 10,000 British, and 6,000 Hessians in Flanders; a subsidy of 300,000*l.* to the queen of Hungary, and I suppose as much to the king of Sardinia; for which the first is to have 50,000 men in Flanders, exclusive of garrisons, the same number in Provence, and a sufficient body of troops in Italy to keep Spain in awe, in case she should not make up with us before the next campaign. The king of Sardinia is to join the austrian army in Provence with 30,000, and also to furnish some proportion for the defence of Italy. The Dutch are, by this plan, desired to furnish only 20,000 national troops, and the 5000 Bavarians now in their pay, for which we are charged with the greatest part of the subsidy. There is also some mention made of securing a body of troops from the czarina, the expence of which is to lay chiefly upon us; but Holland is supposed to be willing to pay her part.

"I don't doubt but you say all this is very

* Lord Harrington.

well; but will it ever be? Can we expect from the Austrians such a support for 300,000*l.* when we have not been able this year to procure half of it for 550,000*l.*? Will the king of Sardinia march with 30,000 men into France next year, after notice given, when he has shuffled, and at last got his neck out of the halter, this year, even when there was no enemy to oppose him? I am so full of these military dreams, that I write on, forgetting who I write to, exposing possibly my own sentiments, and tiring you with undigested, crude, and imperfect representations upon affairs of the greatest moment, and in which you have so thorough a knowledge.

"To return, therefore, to what I set out with, lord Harrington will, I believe, send this plan, provided we make our demands of the Dutch equal to what they have hitherto furnished; for he says, and I think with truth, that though they have lost their barrier, they have lost no territory, of consequence no revenue; that having not declared war, their trade has not suffered, and of consequence their ability, in point of expences, equal to what it has ever been during this war. How can we, therefore, be justified in asking less of 'em? It is, indeed, so necessary to keep them with us, that it may be expedient to accept of less; but that won't justify our setting out upon a less demand. I have seen a letter

which his lordship has prepared upon this subject, a wise one, not an unnational one; it will read well in parliament, and steers clear of absolutely refusing what it is supposed the king may desire. I can't write to you by halves, and I hope there is no danger in your post, that what I write will be seen before it comes to your hands.

"Mr. Fowle has wrote you word, how much I think myself obliged to you, for your kind offer of coming to town a week before the parliament meets. I hope it will not inconvenience you, and sooner it would be barbarous to call for you. Our news in London tells us that duke d'Anville was, the 19th of last month, on the coast of Acadia; that he had suffered much in his passage. Knoles writes word, that he does not think he will attack Cape Breton; but, if he does, he fears him not. He supposes they will take Annapolis; and says, he doubts not to retake it next spring. All I know of St. Clair, &c. is in the gazettes. One of our ships has taken a french man of war, the Mars of 64 guns, and brought her into Plymouth. Our stomachs are ready prepared for drams; this is a good one; I wish we had many more. Write me word you have received this letter; I need not say, take care that no mortal sees it, and you will greatly oblige, dear Horace, your most affectionate and faithful friend."

The death of Philip the fifth, on the 9th of July, enlarged the views of Mr. Walpole, and inspired him with hopes of detaching Spain from France. These hopes were strengthened by his knowledge of the characters of Ferdinand the Sixth, and of his consort Barbara, daughter of John the Sixth of Portugal, who principally governed her husband, was friendly to England, and anxious to promote a peace. Some intelligence, which he received from Spain, induced him to address George the Second on this subject; and two of his letters to the king are preserved in the Walpole Papers.

Mr. Walpole to the King, with Extracts of Intelligence from Spain.

"Cockpit, Jan. 19, 1746-7. Having considered that, notwithstanding the prohibition of commerce with Spain by act of parliament, spanish goods, and especially wines, are constantly and notoriously brought into this kingdom, by various fraudulent practises, without paying any duty to your majesty. I thought it advisable to move the house for leave to bring in a bill for the repeal of that act, which was done, and agreed to last Friday. And having, at the beginning of the sessions, given in common discourse notice of my intention to make this motion, a merchant in the city, greatly concerned in this trade, immediately, it seems, let it be

known, in a secret way, to a friend of his residing in Spain, who has frequent access to the queen consort there. This merchant, on Saturday last, brought me a letter to read, from his said correspondent, and gave me leave, under the strictest promise, not to make his own or his friends's name known, (which might prove of bad consequence to them both,) to take the inclosed extract of it; which I have done on purpose to lay before your majesty, as what may deserve your majesty's information.

"I have thought it more advisable to send it thus in writing, without waiting upon your majesty myself, or conveying it by any other channel, having no correspondence with your ministers. Although I am an entire stranger to the present situation between your majesty and the crown of Spain, yet I hope the contents of the inclosed paper will not be disagreeable; but I cannot pretend to judge whether any other use may be made of this correspondence, in order to have (without committing your majesty) any thing suggested by this way in general terms to the queen of Spain, relating to your majesty's, as well as the nation's, favourable disposition towards the crown and the people of Spain; or whether this is already, or may by degrees procure a sufficient opening to lead the person residing in Spain, to let fall, as from himself, any

particulars (as opportunity may offer) to the queen of Spain, that may tend to recover and promote a good understanding between the two crowns, upon which I shall be ready to receive your majesty's sentiments and commands, and to cause them (if you are pleased to send me any,) to be transmitted by the same secret conveyance to Spain.

" But I must most humbly desire that your majesty will not expect, at least at present, to know the persons concerned in this correspondence, which purely regards their own trade. The person residing here I know very well, and can depend upon his veracity; and I can make some guess at the other; and I have no reason to doubt but what he says too is true, because it is no more than what arises from the course and nature of his correspondence with his friend; and he could never imagine that it would have fallen into mine, and still much less into your majesty's hands. However, whether it be thought of any consequence or not, I hope your majesty will pardon this troublesome zeal of mine for your service. These blind and indirect ways have proved sometimes of more use than more open and direct negotiations, which may plead for my excuse in laying this before your majesty."

Reply of the King.

" *For Mr. Horace Walpole, at the Cockpit.*

" I thank you for your intelligence. It would be a very desirable thing, if it could be brought about; but there is hitherto too many insurmountable difficulties for it. You may easily imagine, that it is of such an importance, that no time will be lost to come to a conclusion whenever those can be removed. " G. R."

Mr. Walpole to the King.

" Cockpit, March 31, 1747.

" I presume to send your majesty, inclosed, extracts of letters from Spain, by the same conveyance and from the same person as before, and to observe, that, by these accounts, it looks as if the present queen had the greatest influence at that court, aud that the great point, and as a condition *sine quâ non*, for peace and friendship with your majesty, seems to be an establishment, little or great, for don Philip, which the author says, *for very great reasons which he dares not write.*

" It is reported, how true I can't tell, that the chief thing insisted upon by Macanas, for a peace with Spain, is the restitution of Gibraltar. I know Macanas very well; he is a thorough proud Spaniard, and as such it is probable he will dwell long and earnestly upon that article; for during the congress of Soissons,

he, being then in France, was very busy in that affair; but as not one word is mentioned relating to Gibraltar by this correspondent, and the present queen there makes the settlement of don Philip the only and necessary means for a reconciliation with England, I am led to think that the *very great reasons* which the correspondent says he *dares not write, why the young gentleman must not come home again*, and which he so emphatically repeats, are founded upon an apprehension that the queen may be under, that if don Philip should return to Spain again, he may interfere with her in the council and government of Spain, where she is said to have, as your majesty will see by the inclosed extracts, *as much or more power than her predecessor had*, and which she will, consequently, be jealous of keeping without a rival; and as she is not a Spaniard, may be very indifferent about Gibraltar, especially being a Portuguese, and the court of Portugal, for very obvious reasons, would certainly be very sorry to see Gibraltar again in the hands of Spain. What or whether any use may be made of this intelligence, is entirely submitted to your majesty.

"A peace got with Spain, by the means of the present queen, so powerful there, would very probably renew the antient good understanding

between the two nations, and make your majesty's influence and interest with that crown more prevalent than that of France. And is it not to be apprehended, that the present queen of Spain (rather than suffer don Philip to return again to that court, which seems a personal concern to her, and what she has most at heart,) may not, in order to procure some settlement for him at a distance, be provoked (if she can't obtain it by your majesty's means) to renew and push the war with vigour in Italy, jointly with France, for obtaining that end? which seems to be her intentions by the warlike preparations now making in Spain, as your majesty may observe by the aforesaid extracts. And may not the frequent differences, between the courts of Vienna and Turin, end in forcing the king of Sardinia to make a separate peace with France and Spain, by an establishment of don Philip, and Spain will be contented with a much smaller one now than in the late king's time, for that prince? and the consequences of such a breach, in the alliance with your majesty, may, I am afraid, be dangerous; but how is it practicable to procure that satisfaction, I cannot pretend to determine.

"If I have presumed to say too much, I hope your majesty will attribute it to an overflow of

my zeal for your service, and of that duty, gratitude, and attachment to your sacred person, which will ever be inseparable from my life."

The King's Answer.

"I thank you for the information you have given me, and, if opportunities offer, you may depend upon my improving it."

CHAPTER 30.

1746—1747.

Mr. Walpole inculcates the Necessity of forming an Alliance with Prussia—His first Letter to the Duke of Cumberland—Extracts of Letters from Mr. Pelham.

MR. WALPOLE justly appreciated the true situation of affairs; he saw that the efforts of a divided ministry, who did not possess the confidence of the sovereign, would be weak and ineffectual; and that the dilatory measures hitherto pursued were ill calculated to resist the progress of the French in the Low Countries. Having learnt, from long experience, the imprudence of relying on the promises of the ambitious and jealous cabinet of Vienna, and on the wavering counsels of the dutch republic, he was aware that the empress queen would employ the english subsidies in an italian campaign, and leave the principal defence of the Netherlands to the English and Dutch. He therefore inclined to the pacificatory system of Mr. Pelham; but deprecated all attempts to obtain a peace by acts of despondency or submission, and enforced the necessity of extorting reasonable terms from France, by the prompt

display of a formidable force. This plan, he urged, could not be effected by quotas of auxiliary troops upon paper, or by entering the field two months after the French had opened the campaign.

The only method of meeting the formidable power of France, by an equal or superior force, was, in conformity with his plan projected in 1740, to conclude an alliance with Prussia, and thus detach an effective body of 100,000 men from the French, and place it in the scale of the allies. But George the Second having transferred his antipathy against Frederic-William to his successor, the ministers scarcely dared to hint at a closer connection with Prussia, or to combat his prepossession for the house of Austria.

Mr. Walpole, however, was not deterred by apprehensions of royal indignation; he laboured this point with unabated perseverance, and enforced it, as well in his private correspondence with the lord chancellor, Mr. Yorke, the duke of Newcastle, and Mr. Pelham, as by means of papers and memorials which were occasionally submitted to the king.

The coolness with which these representations were supported by the ministers, and the aversion with which they were received by the king, fully appear from the letters of Mr. Pel-

ham and Mr. Yorke. "Your other letter," says Mr. Pelham, "is of much greater consequence to the public at this time, than any formalities that attend the trials of these unhappy wicked men*. I wish I could as easily see my way through the difficulties of our foreign affairs, as I do in the others nearer home. I have the good fortune to agree with you in most of your observations on the present state of affairs abroad; and have been so far benefited of your good advice, as to make use of your ideas in a *certain place*. When I state them, they are not objected to; but, in the progress, I soon find that there is a secret view behind, that overrules all plain reasonings that can be offered†."

Mr. Walpole became more urgent in the prosecution of his plan, in consequence of the ill success which attended the arms of the allies in the campaign of 1746. The French did not intermit hostilities during the winter; and marshal Saxe continued his successful operations without opposition. On the 30th of January, Brussels was suddenly invested, the garrison of 9000 men surrendered prisoners of war, and immense magazines, with a numerous train of artillery prepared for the ensuing campaign,

* Alluding to the trials of the rebel lords.

† Mr. Pelham to Mr. Walpole, July 29, 1746.

fell into the hands of the enemy. This reduction of the capital secured to the French the conquest of the Austrian Netherlands; and Louis the Fifteenth only joined the army to take quiet possession of Louvain, Mecklin, Antwerp, and the remaining fortresses, and to threaten the frontiers of Holland.

The Dutch, alarmed by the approach of the enemy, made the most vigorous efforts, and solicited, in the most pressing terms, the effectual co-operation of England. But the rebellion in Scotland, and the dissentions in the cabinet, retarded the supplies; and prince Charles of Lorrain did not take the command of the confederate army till July. The forces of the allies were, however, so inadequate to resist the career of the French, that he only witnessed the capture of Mons and Namur, and terminated the contest in the Netherlands by his defeat at Rocoux. These disasters were ill compensated by the splendid advantages which the austrian and sardinian forces gained in Italy, and the temporary invasion of Provence. During the course of the campaign, some hopes of peace were excited by the congress at Breda, where the austrian, french and british plenipotentiaries assembled; yet Mr. Walpole, well aware that peace was not to be dictated by raw politicians at a congress, but by an army in the field, was

convinced that the negotiations would speedily terminate without effect.

" As to congress and treaties," he observes in a letter to Mr. Yorke, " *Donatus jam rude*, nothing will ever bring me again upon that invidious and ungrateful stage. The time is come that green years can dictate to grey hairs*; infants are now politicians, and crush hydras in

* The strong expressions in this letter will remind the reader of Mr. Walpole's speech in the house of commons, and the celebrated retort of Mr. Pitt, which is given in Chandler's Debates on a bill for the encouragement and increase of seamen in 1740, and echoed by Smollet and his copyists. Yet this celebrated retort of Mr. Pitt existed only in Johnson's imagination, who penned these debates; and is one of the instances which realise his assertion that 'he took care the Whig dogs should not have the better of it.' An anecdote, communicated by the late lord Sydney, from the authority of his father, who was present, will exhibit the slender foundation on which Mr. Pitt's supposed philippic was formed. I give it in his lordship's own words: " In a debate, in which Mr. Pitt, Mr. Lyttleton, and, perhaps, some of the Grenvilles, who were then all young men, had violently attacked Mr. Horace Walpole, he, in reply, 'lamented that, having been so long in business, he found that such young men were so much better informed in political matters than himself; he had, however, one consolation, which was, that he had a son not twenty years old, and he had the satisfaction to hope that he was as much wiser than them, as they were than his father.' Mr. Pitt got up with great warmth, beginning with these words: 'With the greatest reverence to the grey hairs of the honourable gentleman!' Mr. Walpole pulled off his wig, and shewed his head covered with grey hair; which occasioned a general laughter, in which Mr. Pitt joined, and all warmth immediately subsided."

their cradles. Even experimental knowledge and wisdom belong to the young, and not the old men of this age; and it may truly be said of us decrepit statesmen, *Bis pueri senes.* The prince of Wales knows more than his royal father; the duke of Bedford is already a better land and sea admiral than ever Sir Charles Wager was; our notable schemes for american expeditions will certainly preserve Cape Breton; the earl of Sandwich will jostle our friend Trevor out of his place in Holland, and, by his superior genius, animate and bring that heavy mass or chaos of a government, to order, vigour, and activity; and when he comes to Breda, with a dash of his pen, like an inspired man, will soon make France less formidable, and the house of Austria more tractable. Golden days are flowing in upon us; I shall not, but you may, live to see them in their full lustre: in the mean time, as I am a poor broken-winded politician, I will follow the advice of my name-sake, *Solve senescentem, &c.*"

At length, finding all his efforts ineffectual, and perceiving the insuperable dread of the ministers to renew their solicitations in the closet, with that force and unanimity which he deemed necessary, Mr. Walpole took the resolution of applying himself to the duke of Cumberland, who commanded the allied army in Flanders,

and whose influence with the king was unbounded.

He commenced his representations by a letter dated November 29th, 1746. After a complimentary address on the appointment of his royal highness to the chief command, as the only means calculated to save the country, he states the plan which he had formed, during the administration of his brother, for a grand alliance, capable of resisting the power of France and Spain, by the concurrence of Prussia. He examines the king of Prussia's conduct from the first invasion of Silesia; dwells on his repeated offers of a compromise, and contrasts his apparent readiness to enter into negotiation with the haughtiness and obstinacy of the austrian cabinet. He adverts to the efforts of Sir Robert Walpole, and his own endeavours to promote the reconciliation. He recapitulates the events of the disastrous campaigns in Germany, the consequent successes of France, and the neutrality of Prussia, purchased on terms more humiliating than would at first have secured the cordial assistance of that power.

"The temporary success," continues Mr. Walpole, "occasioned by the secession of the king of Prussia, was soon checked by his breach of the neutrality, suspicious that Austria, in conjunction with Russia, Saxony, and the king of

England as elector of Hanover, meditated the conquest and partition of his territories, Frederic again brought his army into the field, and restored the preponderance to France." Though Mr. Walpole allows that the perfidy of the prussian monarch might have justified this coalition; yet he censures the imprudence of provoking his resentment at this important juncture. "This being the case," he says, "the late lord Orford thought it his duty, although retired from business, to acquaint his majesty with the dangerous consequences of attempting to divide the prussian territories, which would end in making France mistress of all Europe, and might prove a fatal blow both to his royal and electoral dominions." He recalls to the recollection of the duke, who commanded the allied forces in Flanders, the ill consequences which ensued from the division of the austrian forces; and urges the folly of their cabinet in rejecting the repeated overtures of pacification made by Frederic, until their consent was extorted by the disastrous situation of their affairs. "Although," he adds, "the treaty of Breslaw saved the empress queen from impending danger, and enabled her troops to gain great advantages in Italy, and even to make a successful irruption into Provence; yet it was concluded too late to save the Austrian Netherlands, and the same inability to cope

with the French in that quarter still continued."

After establishing the position that the force of the allies was insufficient to regain the Low Countries, or secure an honourable peace without the assistance of Prussia, Mr. Walpole combats objections, and lays down his grand scheme for securing that assistance. He reprobates the conduct hitherto pursued with regard to Prussia, whose concurrence, he urges, was to be obtained, not by dark hints and weak insinuations in the closet; not by sending an inefficient envoy to Berlin, without positive instructions, and with the form rather than the reality of a negotiation; but by strong and repeated instances from all the ministers to the king, persuading him to write a cordial letter to the prussian monarch; by sending a person of high distinction with specific propositions and full powers; by extorting the concurrence of the austrian court, on pain of losing the english subsidies, and by giving a parliamentary sanction to these overtures.

I find no documents in the Walpole Papers which enable me to ascertain whether the duke returned any answer, or in what manner he received this letter. The arguments had certainly no effect, either on his conduct, or on that of administration. The same measures were pursued; and though the parliament, which met in

November 1746, granted liberal supplies, and unanimously acceded to all the demands of the minister, the army in the Netherlands was equally inefficient, and the campaign still more unsuccessful.

In Italy, the austrian and sardinian forces were compelled to retreat from Provence; Genoa was recovered from the Austrians by the desperate efforts of the natives; and Piedmont and Milan threatened by the French. In Flanders, the operations of the allied forces were weakened by the dissentions between the generals; the french army, led by marshal Saxe, and inspirited by the presence of the king, defeated the allies at Lauffeld*, after an obstinate and bloody action, in which general Ligonier was taken prisoner. The duke of Cumberland repassed the Meuse with great precipitation; the French made themselves masters of the frontier towns in Dutch Brabant; after a short siege took Bergen-op-Zoom (a fortress hitherto deemed impregnable) by assault, and threatened to over-run the province of Zealand.

The approaching danger excited tumults and insurrections in the United Provinces. The magistrates were charged with incapacity and perfidy; the prince of Orange was invested with the supreme command by land and sea, and the

* July 1747.

Stadholdership revived, and declared hereditary in his family. This revolution, in the hitherto headless government of Holland, gave new spirit and energy to the efforts of the Dutch; but could not check the progress of the French, nor prevent the siege of Maestricht.

During these events Mr. Walpole did not intermit his remonstrances; and Mr. Pelham enforced them in the closet, though without success. Soon after the battle of Lauffeld, he thus writes to Mr. Walpole: "I won't trouble you with foreign politics; the last gazette extraordinary is the true account of the action. I have not wanted representing here the substance of your sentiments, though not in your name. I doubt not I am thought too pacific to meet with that credit with our young hero, that I think I deserve from him, and which I once had with him. He has never honoured me with a line since he went abroad, nor has even his secretary vouchsafed to let me know he is alive. I do not, however, fail in my duty to him, and have accordingly wrote to him since the last engagement, by which I shall see whether my letters are welcome, and go on or not, as I find."

In another interesting letter the minster describes the delusive hopes entertained by his colleagues, the pacific overtures of the french king through general Ligonier, and the subsequent fluctuation of counsels in the cabinet.

"July 30, 1747. I should have acquainted you with the various incidents that have happened since I had the pleasure of seeing you; but the subject was too melancholy for me to write upon, or for you to read. Your last, which I had the honour of yesterday, points out our true condition as exactly if you were yourself upon the spot, and as much in business as ever. Our victory in Italy, the possibility of raising the seige of Bergen-op-Zoom, and the great words and vain assurances of the prince of Orange, every now and then furnish us with fresh spirits, and deceive us into an opinion that this war is still to be supported and carried on with a prospect of success. But when we have none of these drams to cherish us, but are reduced to the plain naked demonstrable truth, I find we are as ready to hearken to any advice that may possibly extricate us out of our difficulties, as any of those who have never flattered themselves with either the glory or advantage of five expensive losing campaigns. You may probably have observed in the newspapers, that some kind of opening towards a peace was made to Ligonier during his captivity in the french camp.

"The first was this; Ligonier was received with all the politeness and marks of distinction that was possible to be shewn to one of the

highest rank, and the french king himself ordered that he should be entertained at marshal Saxe's quarters. The consequence was, that the marshal had many confidential discourses with him, and, upon the whole, told him that the king did not love war; that he, the marshal, as little desired to continue it; that the whole french nation hated him; that, were one misfortune to befal him, the king himself could not protect him; that he had already all the honour he could wish for, and all the rewards for his services that he desired, or the king could grant. That, in this situation, Ligonier must believe, broken as he was also in his constitution, that he must wish for peace, and withal that he knew his master did so too. After some farther conversations to the same purport, he told Ligonier that the king of France desired he would return to the duke of Cumberland, assure his royal highness, in his name, of his desire to put an end to the war; that he thought that could not but be done by them two, at the head of their respective armies; that he knew the droiture of the duke too well to imagine he would engage in any thing without his allies; but as the two armies would probably remain in a state of inaction, there would be time for his royal highness to receive the opinion of our allies, and he doubted not but they would

wisely trust their interests in his royal highness's hands; with many other engaging compliments to the duke. That as to the king of France, Saxe said, he looked for nothing for himself; that he should be willing to restore all Flanders, as it now is, excepting Furnes, which he should expect to keep if we insisted on the total demolition of Dunkirk; but if we would let that harbour remain as it is now, he would then desire nothing but the restitution of Cape Breton. That Genoa ought to be restored, if taken, to the republic, and the duke of Modena reinstated in his own dominions. That Spain must be included and considered; but as this was one frenchman talking, and another frenchman writing, I cannot be particular on that head; but to me it appeared, that what was said of Spain, was more to save their honour than essential in itself.

"This has been the political subject in the closet ever since; I am clear the king was pleased with it, and as clear that the duke was not averse to having his share in this negotiation. But the prince of Orange having most warmly protested against it, and having wrote a volume of pedantic reasonings upon the subject, some of us, the duke of Newcastle and lord Sandwich in particular, hesitated a good deal; and at last an answer was sent, not over complaisant in man-

ner, and, in my opinion, excessively cool in the matter. Notwithstanding this, France does not give it over, but still keeps up the same polite way of acting (though in a very odd style) that they begun it in. We have, of course, meeting upon meeting, and our whole time is taken up in defending and blaming, without taking the determinate measure of, for, or against.

"I have now opened to you the great secret of the times, which, like all others where many are entrusted, is known in general, though not in particulars. Abroad we are not in the least better; the disagreement between our duke and the stadholder is evident, though not prudently managed by the former. The queen dowager of Spain is sent from Madrid to one of the four towns mentioned in the late king's will: it is supposed she will go to Toledo, as the cardinal infant is ordered to his bishopric. These things look well, but still nothing is come to Kew as we know of.

"I have not failed to inculcate the notion of Prussia, both at home and abroad; but that nail won't go; we must either make peace, or this war must still be maintained at a greater expence by this country only, for assistance from others we cannot or will not have."

Another letter from Mr. Pelham to Mr. Walpole, during the siege of Bergen-op-Zoom, expa-

tiates on the despair of the Dutch, the disastrous state of the allied forces, and continues: "In short, dear sir, it is too late to look back; we might have had last year a better peace than we shall be able to obtain this, and this a better than we shall get the next. We fight all, and we pay all, it is true; but we are beaten, and shall be broke. His majesty is frightened, and talks reasonably upon any subject but the one you and every reasonable man thinks most material. You would have him court Prussia, rather than be necessitated to take a bad peace: he had rather take any peace from France, than court Prussia to carry on the war. You judge so rightly of what France will do with regard to Prussia, that the general guaranty of Silesia was one of the points in the last paper delivered by the marshal Saxe to Ligonier. We were silent upon that head in our answer, which I doubt not will be made use of against us, in case the negotiation breaks off; I observed it at the time, but to no purpose. * * * *

"I think of the parliament as you do, and have told my master so; I am sure they will approve of any measures the king's joint administration shall lay before them; but we must be convinced ourselves, before we can set about to persuade others. I say this parliament is composed of as true Whigs, and friends to this

government, as any since the Revolution; that they are elected by the common consent of the people; but they are not servants, they are friends; they must therefore be treated as such; they must see the interest of their country is pursued; they may be led, but they cannot be drove. I have, and some others, inculcated your ideas; they take place in part, but not in the whole; it is that has made me so zealous for peace: I wrote the duke so; and, by the general turn of his letters, I think he is of my mind.

"I doubt I see the king of Prussia beginning already; he complains of the austrian troops in, I think, the duchy of Mountfort, and, though he acknowledges the sovereignty of the States, has sent a small detachment to protect the people. Storms are gathering in the North; a treaty has been long negotiating, as I conclude you know, between France, Prussia, Sweden and Denmark; the latter begins to shake, and it is whispered as if Bremen and Verden were to be the sacrifices there. So that our electorate, as well as our kingdom, has its apprehensions.

"If all these considerations cannot move a certain person, will the representation in writing of a few private men, some of whom perhaps will unsay in the closet what they have consented to out of it, avail at all? No, dear Horace, believe me it will not; we have nothing

to do but to make up the present quarrels, get a little breathing time; and then, perhaps, some people may come to their senses, or some sense may come to them. I shall conclude with telling you, that I plainly perceive from Bentinck, as well as from the correspondencies which I have seen, that our two young heroes agree but little. Our own * is open, frank, resolute, and perhaps hasty; the other †, assuming, pedantic, ratiocinating, and tenacious; sees the danger at his own door, and demands assistance like a conqueror; the other more circumspect, and full as resolute, not to give what he does not think safe to part with. In what a situation then are we! we must pray for the best, for to direct it we cannot. I doubt you think me indiscreet in trusting to paper, what I shall never repent trusting to you; if it comes safe to your hands, I am satisfied; let me know it does so, for till then I shall have my fears."

* The duke of Cumberland.

† The prince of Orange.

CHAPTER 31.

1747.

Second Letter from Mr. Walpole to the Duke of Cumberland—Substance of the Third Letter.

MR. WALPOLE, deeply affected with the gloomy aspect of affairs, and the king's inflexibility, transmitted a second letter to the duke of Cumberland, while he continued at the head of the army, which cannot be abridged without injury to its spirit and sense.

" Wolterton, near Aylsham, Norfolk, Aug. 26,
" SIR, 1747.

" I took the liberty, in a paper dated the 29th of last November, to trouble your royal highness with a political deduction of the state of things abroad since the beginning of the war, and, by considering the strength of the army to be formed this year under your command, I did humbly presume to intimate my apprehensions that the French would continue to have such a superior force in the Low Countries as to put it out of your royal highness's power to act with that success as the exigency of affairs might require, and might be expected from your extraordinary talents, if supported with the necessary means for that purpose. That, notwith-

standing your unparalleled courage and conduct, your royal highness would not be able, without the assistance of the king of Prussia, to act offensively against France, or to oblige that exorbitant power to hearken to reasonable terms of peace; and that the consequence of an inactive campaign, or a defeat on the part of the allies, might prove fatal to the liberties of Europe, and all his majesty's dominions.

"I am grieved, most heartily grieved, to see, as far as I am able to judge at so great a distance from the scene of action, that the subsequent events of this year's campaign have not mended the melancholy state of affairs, nor removed our apprehensions. The same causes subsist, and will naturally produce the same effects; and, without a most extraordinary interposition of Providence, destruction, like a torrent, is ready to overflow this unhappy nation.

"Your royal highness, with an activity and zeal becoming yourself, endeavoured to animate the allies to furnish a corps of troops that might enable you to bring early into the field an army of 140,000 men. A convention was accordingly made between the powers concerned for that purpose; the respective quotas were stipulated, and it was farther agreed that the queen of Hungary should provide 60,000 men, and the king of Sardinia 30,000 to act in the southern

parts of France. Not to mention the obligation of those two powers to entertain a sufficient number of troops to intimidate the kings of Spain and Naples; this diversion, calculated to oblige the enemy to weaken their forces in the Low Countries, and to make the army under your command superior to the French, would have been a glorious project, and the most hopeful basis for a successful campaign, if some of the powers engaged had not wanted both abilities and inclination to carry it into execution.

"But, alas! sir, those who had the least experience in affairs, and knowledge of the maxims and practice of the court of Vienna in former wars, foresaw, and foretold, that it must prove an imaginary scheme; that the Austrians could never be able to furnish their contingent, and that if they could, instead of penetrating into the southern parts of France, they would have found, as they did in the last war, some excuse for diverting their army from such a noble enterprise, to undertake the siege of Naples; and that is what the Austrians meant by the 4th article of the convention relating to that kingdom.

"And lo! while our spirits are raised with sanguine expectation, that the Austrians and Sardinians, having passed the Var, would push immediately into France, we are suddenly sur-

prised with the disagreeable news that they were obliged, on the approach of marshal Belle-Isle, to repass that river with great precipitation; and it seems that instead of being 90,000, their army did amount to no more than 25,000 men. In the mean time the people of Genoa took up arms, and drove the Austrians out of their city, and from the strong holds; and I can't forbear observing, that this unfortunate turn was occasioned by a preposterous piece of policy on the part of the Austrians in leaving the Genoese armed, that they might be in a condition to resist any attempt from the king of Sardinia. At last we were made to believe that the joint efforts and good understanding (that never was and never will be cordial) between the Austrians and Sardinians, would soon re-take Genoa, when we were again surprised with the news of their being compelled to raise that siege.

"The consequent superiority of the French in the Low Countries, and the management of the war in Italy, is but too well known, and, I am afraid, felt by your royal highness; and you are the best judge whether your want of a sufficient support and assistance, in the late battle of Val*, was not as much owing to the policy

* Or battle of Lauffeld.

of the Austrians, as to the cowardice of the Dutch. Glory, your inseparable companion, did then and will ever attend your arms; but as long as victory adheres to the strongest side, and the French continue to be the strongest; while, at the same time, courage, force, or inclination for carrying on a successful war, are wanting in our allies; the continent, and in consequence this country, must be lost, irretrievably lost. If Bergen-op-Zoom should be taken, that fatal epoque cannot be far off; if it should not be now taken, the evil day will not be entirely removed, but only deferred, if we continue the same resolution of fighting bravely every year on the same unequal terms, and consequently of being every year bravely beaten.

"In this critical situation of affairs, it may be asked where is the remedy? It may be thought too officious for one retired entirely from all business, but it is so obvious I can't forbear repeating it. Means must be found to strengthen the hands of your royal highness, and to weaken the power of the enemy, and the only means to answer these ends must be had from an alliance and friendship with Prussia; and by detaching Spain from her engagements with France, not so much in order to carry on the war, which I apprehend they will not readily concur in, but to co-operate with his majesty by their counte-

nance, so as to make France think it necessary to offer reasonable terms of peace, and to settle the tranquillity of Europe.

"As to Prussia, I laid so fully before your royal highness, in a former paper, the steps to be taken for gaining a good understanding, with the assistance of that prince, to a certain degree, that I shall beg leave to refer you to the perusal of it a second time. I am persuaded those steps would then have succeeded, had they been willingly and earnestly pursued in the proper places; and I should be hopeful that they would not fail now, if they were accompanied with the same principles of friendship, interest, and security, with regard to that prince, as I then suggested. These steps might be farther explained or varied according to the present circumstances.

"Believe me, sir, the procuring of an alliance and friendship with Prussia, is the sense, to my own knowledge, of those that are the most zealously attached to his majesty in this new parliament, and the general voice of all those in this nation that are well affected to his government. This, I am persuaded, his majesty does not know; and I am very sensible how difficult it is to let him know it; and still, perhaps, more so to induce him to hearken seriously to it; for those who are in the proper station to do it, (for

whom I have a great regard,) will not, for reasons too delicate for me to mention, undertake to lay this great and important truth before his majesty in a most dutiful but cogent manner; and the king may at last be astonished to find himself and his people upon the brink of ruin, for want of having been timely informed of the remedy that might have been applied to obviate or repel the impending danger. Your royal highness has shewn yourself to be the greatest hero of your time; you have gained glory, even when you have lost battles.

"*Si pergama dextrâ defendi possent*, &c."

"The glory of procuring a reasonable peace from a victorious enemy, has not indeed the same eclat and lustre, as that of forcing him, by conquest, to submit to your own terms; but, in the present nice balance of immediate safety or destruction, it would make your wisdom as conspicuous as your valour; and would, from the universal good procured to mankind, and particularly to your own country, gain you as much affection and applause as a patriot, as you have got reputation as a general, which another unfortunate action may greatly diminish, if not entirely destroy. You have, sir, the heart of your royal father, and, next to him, of the people. His glory and future tranquillity, their safety and happiness, depend upon you; exert

your superiour genius, and act as the chief minister of his counsels in the cabinet, as you have been at the head of his armies in the field. His majesty's love for his subjects, and affection for you, may dispose him to hearken to that salutary advice from you, which is requisite to preserve his own honour and ease, your reputation and their welfare, though otherwise perhaps not agreeable to him.

"Represent, good sir, the necessity of making peace, and the impossibility of doing it upon a safe foot, without the friendship and assistance of Prussia, and a separation of Spain from France.

"But will our allies, especially the queen of Hungary, hearken to a guaranty of Silesia, although she is obliged to do it by treaty; or to the least establishment for don Philip in Italy; although it may save the rest of her dominions there, and recover all that France has conquered, and is like to conquer, which, in effect, will be no less than the whole continent. Good God! how many millions has her resentment against Prussia, and pride with regard to Spain, cost this poor exhausted nation! The English have already paid forty millions sterling in carrying on a ruinous war. *They* only fight, *they* only pay, not only the troops that are furnished, but for many more that are no where but upon paper; and it is an undoubted truth, confirmed

by the experience of many wars, that as long as others will find money, the Austrians will pretend to find men, and never think of peace; I say never, if they are suffered to govern, as they have hitherto done, until they have killed the hen that has laid 'em so many golden eggs, and is already so worn out as to be at the last gasp.

"It may be said that the Dutch, besides their unwillingness to enter into any confidence with Prussia, will now, animated and assisted by the talents and authority of a stadholder, exert a greater spirit and force for the recovery of their barrier than they did to defend it. This, to a certain degree, may be true; and had the late revolution in Holland happened seven years ago, it might have been of singular benefit to the common cause. I have the honour to know the prince of Orange; I respect and venerate him much. His parts, zeal, and ambition to serve the public are great; and whatever his views are, they will be supported with strong and copious reasonings; but, I am afraid, his views are too extensive to be realised, and carried into action with success. The present condition of the republic, though ever so well intentioned, will not keep pace with his lively and eager imagination, nor enable him to execute what he may persevere in desiring with great earnestness and eloquence. The sensible,

sedate, and best affected patriots in Holland may be silent, but they cannot be ignorant of this; and, knowing the state of their finances, and the imminent danger of their country, would readily promote a scheme of pacification under the prudent management of your royal highness; and the authority of his majesty might interpose, to decide and settle any difference of opinion, which a rivalship of glory, in serving the public, either by war or peace, might occasion between two young heroes, equally anxious for renown.

"But I must still have recourse to the burthen of my song. Pardon the disagreeable repetition! Prussia must be gained, not to carry on the war, that is too late, but to have the appearance of being able to carry it on, and to support a proper plan for a pacification. If the king of Prussia can be persuaded that the allies are sincere in desiring his friendship and assistance, he must be sensible it is his interest to have the future security for his present possessions from them. And your royal highness is the only person that can, vested with proper powers and authority, undertake and accomplish this great and necessary work. But if a peace with France must be made, cannot it be done without the friendship and help of the king of Prussia? I am afraid it cannot.

"I have observed, by the public papers, that the bravery and conduct of your royal highness at the late battle, though obliged to retreat, made such an impression on marshal Saxe, that he intimated, by general Ligonier, some overtures of peace. I am inclined to believe it to be true, because I can easily conceive it to be for the honour and interest of count Saxe to do it: he is now crowned with glory; he is a foreigner, and a protestant, and not sparing of the French troops. He is consequently envied by the nobility, and hated by the people of France; any contretems, or unfortunate action to his army, might be his ruin, in serving a master whose affection and gratitude to a servant is governed by success only. I will therefore suppose that some overtures for a peace of a plausible nature, such as are most obvious, viz. the surrender of the Low Countries, for the restitution of Cape Breton, may have been in good earnest suggested by him to your royal highness, that they may be considered as a sufficient ground for a negotiation; yet, unless the king of Prussia is made beforehand our friend, and Spain be reconciled to us, this negotiation will end in nothing but disgrace to his majesty, and a most insecure peace to his subjects. For, can it be doubted, but France will, in the course of it, feel and make use of the ad-

vantage and weight she will have in acting in concert with Prussia and Spain? Can it be doubted, but, in order to keep up a coolness between his prussian majesty and the allies, and dependency of that prince upon herself, she will demand a guaranty, from all the powers concerned, and from the empire, of the dominions in the possession of Prussia? And in order to prevent a strict union between England and Spain, and to obstruct an advantageous treaty of commerce with that crown in our favour, will not France demand for don Philip a greater establishment in Italy than their catholic majesties would now be contented to accept, by his majesty's interest and influence? Will not these demands be as prevalent and irresistible in treating, as her arms have been in fighting? And will not the allies be forced to yield, with an ill grace, to those powers, what they might have had the merit and benefit of granting to them, by a reconciliation and friendship with them previous to a general negotiation for peace?

"As to Spain, I had an opportunity, last winter, of knowing, by an accident too long to explain, that the present king and queen are true Spaniards, and desirous of having a friendship with his majesty preferably to one with France, as being the mutual interest of both nations. For some domestic reasons, they will have don

Philip kept at a distance. The queen consort, who has the chief credit, cannot suffer him to return to his employments in Spain, and interfere with her in the councils there. For that reason she must and will insist upon an establishment for him, though ever so small, in Italy, and would rejoice to owe the obligation for it to the king. This I thought it my duty to let his majesty know, the king seemed extremely pleased with the intelligence*; but as he communicated it to none of his ministers, and no step was taken in consequence of it, I let it drop; and I mention it to your royal highness only to let you see that the disposition of the present government of Spain is favourable to England. I could indicate the means that might be taken to confirm it, if it is worth having; and without it I apprehend that the most beneficial branch of our trade will be but loosely settled, and very precarious, on account of the obligations and attachment of Spain to France.

" I would gladly be convinced that an additional strength might be had, and, from the assistance of this new and well-affected parliament, an extraordinary effort might be made, without having recourse to the friendship of Prussia, so as to render your royal highness superior to the

* The letter to which Mr. Walpole alludes, and the king's answer, are printed in Chapter 29.

French in another campaign; but it is a most vain imagination to think it possible. Words and votes only, will not make men; nay, it is plain that money will not. I am afraid that little more than words can be had from the Austrians, or from our good friends the Dutch, beyond what you have hitherto had: your royal highness will have plenty of them from both, supported with strong assurances on one side, and voluminous ratiocination on the other. But where are the additional means? It will be said, perhaps from Russia, I think I shewed you last year how fruitless our expectations are from that quarter; the same reasons still subsist, which it is unnecessary for me to repeat; but only to observe, that Prussia and Sweden will keep the czarina *en echec*, and Denmark will be frightened into their measures, at least will not dare to oppose them; aud every step taken by his majesty on that side, with such a view, will make his affairs worse, and give him new apprehensions in the North. This is so visible now, and has been constantly so, that I wonder the hanoverian ministers have not employed their utmost dexterity and credit, for the sake of their own country, to procure a perfect good understanding between his majesty and the king of Prussia.

" There has not, I believe, been, since the Revolution, a parliament better affected, than that

now chosen, to support his majesty, and the present happy establishment, to defend the liberty of Europe against the exorbitant power of France, and strengthen the hands of your royal highness, that you may be, as king William was, our glorious deliverer. But, pray, sir, consider the immense debt that has been contracted since the beginning of this war; the many millions that have been given, without being able to stop the rapid progress of the french arms, or to reap any other benefit but that of being honourably beaten. Ten millions were granted and employed this year with no better success hitherto; and with the deficiency that is like to be, it may be necessary to demand, when the parliament meets, twelve millions, (but where and how to find it, God knows,) double of the sum granted in any of the former wars, purely to answer the present charges of the war, without the appearance of an additional force to give the people hopes of carrying it on with greater advantage, or the least prospect of an approaching peace. Notwithstanding the good affection of this parliament, this melancholy aspect will occasion melancholy reflections, and heavy hearts, even among the best intentioned.

" In the mean time our good and gracious king, while too great caution is used to say nothing but what is agreeable to him, will sud-

denly see the bad situation of his affairs, and must and will grow extremely uneasy; and there are those* who are supposed to have a secret credit, although no places at court, that will perceive and take advantage of this uneasiness. They will (not presuming to point out the true cause of our misfortunes, nor suggest the proper remedies,) attribute them, by artful insinuations and whispers, to the weakness, mismanagement, and irresolution of the ministry, which will be publicly echoed from another quarter†, even to the disadvantage of your royal highness, and will have, on account of our distresses, a mischievous effect in the nation. And I am sorry to say it, but I really apprehend, that within two sessions the best of parliaments will be in the greatest confusion, unless it is evident that the vast sums they must grant will tend to procure a reasonable peace. Now, such a peace cannot be procured without the appearance of an additional strength on our side, and a diminution of that of our great enemy; that strength and diminution cannot be procured without an alliance immediately made with Prussia, and a reconciliation with Spain. If these things cannot be obtained, we shall be undone by a ruinous war, or by a peace that will prove equally ruinous, which is too obvious,

* Lord Granville. † Prince of Wales.

but too melancholy a subject to dwell any longer upon.

" My over-officious zeal may have made me more importunate than becomes me; but as I have no malice, spleen, nor ambition, which generally make objects appear in a wrong light; and I have no particular view to serve (I can have none; for I want nothing, and desire nothing, but to see his majesty happy, your royal highness glorious, and this free nation safe and free) I hope this last and long trouble, well intentioned, if mistaken, will meet, if not with a favourable reception, yet at least with forgiveness."

Feeling, as the duke of Cumberland did, from experience, the truth of these arguments, this forcible letter could not fail of making some impression; although the delicacy of his situation, and the inflexibility of the king, would not permit him to adopt or acknowledge them. But the strength of Mr. Walpole's conviction, and his persevering zeal, are proved by his expressions in a letter to his friend Mr. Yorke, to whom he had imparted some remarks on the subject, and who had requested his permission to communicate them to the chancellor.

" I could have no objection to your communicating my thoughts where you think proper; but my last wanted some digestion. As to the notions contained in it, I am persuaded they are

true, and the only ones, *rebus sic stantibus*, that can save Europe and England; and therefore I think that those who are in their proper stations, and have the proper opportunity, should overcome the aversion, by pressing them with earnestness and unwearied repetition.

"What would you say to a physician, who is convinced that a certain remedy may (and it is the only remedy that can,) save his patient, and will not advise it or order it because it is disagreeable to the humour or taste of his patient? A minister that knowingly gives his master advice that will infallibly destroy him, is, I think, a traitor; and can he be absolutely free from a sort of treason, that knows what will save his master from ruin, and that nothing else can, and has not courage to propose and advise it; and even to pursue that advice, at all hazards, because he finds an aversion to it*?"

The naval successes of England, however, had, during this year, in some measure contributed to counterbalance the misfortunes of the allies by land. Two french squadrons, destined against our settlements in America and the West Indies, with a large convoy of merchant ships, were defeated, and almost wholly captured; the first by Anson and Warren, the

* Mr. Walpole to Mr. Yorke, Oct. 19, 1747.

second by Hawke. These signal successes, and the happy revolution in the government of the United Provinces, were the principal topics of the king's speech to the new parliament, which assembled on the 10th of November, and vied with the former in its loyalty, and in granting aid for the vigorous prosecution of the war. In addition to the former subsidies, 317,881*l.* were voted for 30,000 russian auxiliaries, who had begun their march towards the Low Countries.

Soon after the return of the duke of Cumberland, Mr. Walpole transmitted to him a third letter, recapitulating and enforcing his former arguments, and inclosing a plan of a negotiation for peace. In this effusion, adverting to the spirited support of parliament, and the inefficiency of the combined forces, he observes, "Our armies are beaten in summer, which makes it vain to treat them with the hopes of tolerable conditions from a victorious enemy. In winter, the proper season for negotiation, finding great sums ready to be furnished by the people, and voted by the parliament, our spirits are raised, and we grow sanguine. National plans for augmentation of troops, and successful operations, are formed upon paper, and then truly it is unnecessary and mean to treat with an enemy that will soon be at our mercy; when, alas! their too numerous and irresistible efforts,

the next campaign, cruelly disappoint our imaginary hopes. And thus we are carried on, from year to year, in a circle of delusion, while the French continue their conquests without the least probability of our stopping their progress. They are almost masters of the continent; and what will be the fatal consequence of that, with respect to this country, is what I tremble to think of.

"Peace, then, seems to be the only object for our safety. Must we therefore, for the sake of peace, withdraw our forces from the continent, leave Holland to become a prey to France, and trust to our wooden walls? No, by no means; we should exert ourselves to the utmost by land, to have the best army that can be got under your royal highness's command; but, at the same time, endeavour to procure the friendship of some powerful prince, which can be had, it is evident, from no other part of the world but from Prussia, to act in conjunction with us against France, if that was possible. But as that, I am afraid, cannot be expected, to concur with the maritime powers in obtaining reasonable terms of peace from that crown, and for that purpose to frame a plan of preliminaries to be supported by his prussian majesty's weight and strength."

After stating the objections to the prelimina-

ries, arising from the opposition of the austrian cabinet, he adds: "But must the liberties of Europe be given up to France for the stubbornness of the house of Austria, founded upon bigotry, pride and vengeance, and even upon infidelty to their own engagements? Must the rest of the allies, and especially this country, go on to be exhausted by spending the last farthing to no purpose, and bring themselves to the brink of ruin, rather than contradict the imperious and vindictive temper of the house of Austria? Surely a proper and serious representation from his majesty, to the queen of Hungary, would induce her to act agreeably to her own interest, to common sense and reason, and to do no more than what is absolutely necessary to save Europe; especially if such representation be accompanied with the condition, *sine quâ non*, for granting any more subsidies; for subsidies granted any longer are absolutely flung away without gaining the friendship of the king of Prussia."

He concludes: "Were these my thoughts only, I should not presume to importune your royal highness so often upon so disagreeable a subject; but I am told that what I urge so earnestly is the sense of all the ministers that have access and audience on foreign affairs in the closet, except one; is the sense of all the confi-

dents, friends and relations of that person, both in and out of parliament; is the sense of all the well-affected throughout the whole nation; and, I am afraid, sooner or later, contrary to my own opinion, may be proposed this session in parliament, without the consent of the ministry and court, if they do not think fit to take the lead in doing it themselves; and the consequence of that may be, in appearance, a breach between the king and his parliament, which may end in confusion at home, and hasten the destruction that threatens abroad."

CHAPTER 32.

1747.

Conference with the Duke of Cumberland—Correspondence with the Duke of Newcastle—Unexpected Signature of the Preliminaries—Peace of Aix la Chapelle.

FINDING all representations in favour of an alliance with Prussia ineffectual, and convinced that every moment's delay was big with danger, Mr. Walpole determined to urge his advice in person. He accordingly obtained an interview with the duke of Cumberland; and in a long conference, detailed, in a manly but respectful manner, all the arguments which he had employed in writing. He instantly penned a narrative of the conference, which reflects high honour on the abilities and candour of the duke, and his own spirit and integrity to speak truth, however unwelcome. I am happy to be able to lay this interesting account before the reader.

"The substance of a conference I had with his royal highness the duke of Cumberland, Dec. 20, 1747, at his lodgings in Saint James's-court:

"*Odium veritas parit.*"

"That evening, at seven o'clock, I waited upon the duke of Cumberland, pursuant to a

message I received from his royal highness by Sir Everard Fawkener in the morning.

" I thought it my duty to begin the conversation with begging his royal highness's pardon for having taken the liberty to importune him so much and so often, by letters, with my reflections upon the great and critical juncture of affairs, which nothing should have induced me to have done but my anxiety and concern for his majesty's honour, the glory of his royal highness, the preservation of the liberties of Europe, and of our happy constitution, under the settlement of the present royal family, which seemed to be at stake.

" His royal highness was pleased to accept of my apology in the most obliging manner, accompanied with many kind expressions with regard to my zeal for the government, and long experience in foreign affairs. He then proceeded to observe, (occasioned, I suppose, by my seeming to doubt in my third letter of the complement of the austrian troops last year in Flanders,) that they were near 60,000 men, reckoning the whole time of the last campaign, and touched upon the different corps that were to compose his army the next; naming the Austrians, Russians, Swiss and Dutch, besides the english troops and others to be in the pay of his majesty and the states. But he never once

affirmed, with any assurance, that he depended upon having a sufficient force to attack and resist the arms of France; and therefore I avoided to enter into a particular discussion on that subject, taking only some notice of the still weak and unsettled state of the Dutch, of the difficulty and distance in getting the Russians and Swiss time enough to be of service this year in the field. But I stated in short my thoughts; that, considering the formidable power and success of his enemies, it did not seem possible to put an end to this war with honour and safety without procuring a friendship and alliance with the king of Prussia; and I pointed at the only means for obtaining that prince's assistance, in order to bring about a more honourable and secure peace than could be expected from the generosity of France; retouching what is more fully set forth in my letters on that head.

"His royal highness told me he entirely agreed as to the measure, but differed with me as to the means I had proposed, and he then opened his own sentiments to me in the following manner. His majesty's ministers should, in their turns, recommend the king to set on foot a negotiation with Prussia; a person should be sent to Berlin, entirely agreeable to his majesty, that this affair should not be *brusqué*, but followed step

by step. The instructions of the ministers to be employed at that court, should tend to shew that the family alliance, the protestant religion, and their mutual interest, made it desirable to restore and establish a friendship between the two crowns, and so proceed in general terms and with proper address to lay a foundation for a reconciliation and a good understanding; which his royal highness set forth in expressions adapted to answer that end.

" As I plainly perceived that he was prepared to talk in this plausible, and indeed as he delivered his sentiments in the most agreeable way to me, I acquiesced in his general notion as conformable to mine, without coming directly to the main point; and that his plan of instructions to the minister designed for Berlin, went no farther than what are usual in ordinary cases, for settling an amity between two courts; and seemed by no means calculated to make the king of Prussia sensible of his majesty's most earnest and sincere desire to have his assistance in the present desperate situation of affairs, with respect to war or peace, I then, with great submission, let his royal highness know, that, considering how long and how great an aversion had been contracted, and still prevailed in a certain place, towards his prussian majesty, I was doubtful whether bare suggestions, or ver-

bal intimations, in the closet, by his majesty's ministers in their turns, in favour of that prince, would make such an impression as might have the desired effect; and whether general instructions to the minister for Berlin, conceived only in the usual form and terms of friendship, to reconcile two courts that had been so exasperated against one another, would answer soon enough the salutary and necessary views proposed in this great and most pressing exigency. And unless a representation should be made in writing, by the joint concurrence of all the ministers, and laid before the king at large, of the desperate state of things, and the only remedy that can possibly save Europe and this nation, for his majesty's serious consideration, as is more fully explained in my letters to his royal highness, I was apprehensive that nothing effectual would be done. It had been observed, I said, by some, with great concern, that when a lord Granville was to be removed on account of his extraordinary credit and power with his majesty, a strong representation, pretended to be founded upon the dangerous schemes and measures pursued by him, was, by the unanimous agreement of all the ministers, drawn up and laid before the king, accompanied with a resolution to resign their employments, rather than to continue to serve with so rash and

enterprising a minister. But now things are brought to the greatest extremities, and to the very precipice of ruin, by pursuing, as it is generally thought, the same destructive schemes; the very same ministers dare not let his majesty see, in a proper light, his real and imminent danger, nor suggest to him the only steps, in all appearance, that can possibly be followed to obviate and divert it.

"His royal highness, with great readiness and skill, replied: 'How little soever concerned he might be at the removal of the earl of Granville, he could by no means approve the method that was taken for that purpose; a combination of the ministry in making such representation, and the displacing of one that his majesty looked upon as an able and good servant, he thought was a hard, and by no means a dutiful behaviour towards the king, and such a one as he hoped he should never see practised again.'

"I replied: 'I am afraid I did not express myself so as to be rightly understood. What I said was meant by way of comparison only with respect to the two cases; of the removal of a minister, and of saving this nation: and therefore it appeared extraordinary to some that so strong a resolution and perseverance should be shewn in the face of the king, to make him part with a favourite servant, by those who would not

venture now to make his majesty sensible of the revolution that seemed to threaten the continent, and perhaps this country; nor to point out the sole remedy that can avert our impending fate. I by no means approved the brisk and peremptory treatment of the king in the first case; but what I had proposed with regard to the present situation of affairs, contained nothing of that nature. A deduction, in plain, dutiful, and submissive terms, of the true state of things, should be laid before his majesty in a clear view, so as to let him see, (and his majesty could not, if that was done, but see,) upon mature reflection, the destruction that, like a torrent, was ready to overwhelm all Europe, from the irresistible arms of France; and that the king of Prussia was the only power that could stem this terrible storm, by his intervention and concurrence with his majesty, in procuring more reasonable terms of peace than can possibly be hoped for from the mercy of France. I said, with great deference, such an honest representation as this, far from being indecent or offensive, was at this great crisis the duty of ministers to make, in order to give their master the most salutary advice, and what had been often practised by faithful servants. Memorials, in such dangerous junctures, from subjects that were not called upon to do it by their stations,

even in arbitrary governments, have been well received by their sovereigns. I added, that the late incomparable queen, his royal mother, would, in matters of great moment, suffer me to speak and write freely my mind to her, (though not conformable to her's,) without the least reproach or offence; and therefore his royal highness entirely mistook me, if he apprehended that I meant to have any step taken that should seem hard or shocking to the king. But the ministers should dutifully lay his true case before him, and humbly but steadily suggest the best counsel, although it might not be altogether so agreeable to the king as was to be wished.'

" As I often took an occasion to beg his royal highness's pardon for the liberty and earnestness with which I supported my notions, I urged, for an excuse, that they were not only mine, but were so obvious as to be universal. Every body, I said, in all parts, and of all ranks, that are well affected to the government, cry aloud for the help of Prussia, in one shape or other; and I apprehend, if an occasion is not taken by the court to propose this measure to the parliament, for their concurrence and support, it may be started there from some other quarter, without the privity of the ministers.

" His royal highness was much affected with this surmise, and seemed to think that things of

this kind should by no means be agitated in parliament, intimating, (as I apprehended by way of reproach to me, although in very civil terms,) that the frequent discourses held by some on this subject, might give an occasion for such a thought. I immediately replied, in justification of myself, that I looked upon such motion, unless it should take its rise from the court, to be liable to the greatest objections, and, instead of having the desired effect, might produce nothing but confusion, both at home and abroad, by creating in appearance a difference between the king and this well-affected parliament.

"I then begged leave to acquaint his royal highness, in great confidence, that a very considerable member * of the house, (who does not care to be named,) extremely useful, and zealous for the means necessary to carry on the war, no particular friend of mine, and with whom I never had any transaction in business, (he having been formerly in the strongest opposition to the late lord Orford,) took lately an occasion to express to me, privately, his great anxiety at the melancholy prospect of affairs. He had done all in his power in support of the common cause against France; but that he did not see how it was possible to go any farther; that, besides the ruin which threatened the na-

* Sir John Barnard.

tion, he could not be without his personal uneasiness on account of the reproach, that, without a peace, might be retorted upon himself, who had been so much concerned in laying such heavy loads upon his fellow-subjects, and by new taxes, though necessary, yet very disagreeable to them. I asked him, I added, his opinion, what was proper to be done in so calamitous a case? He immediately replied, No time should be lost to gain the friendship of Prussia, and to detach Spain from France. I rejoined, with a smile, When persons conversant in business, though not intimate with one another, would turn their thoughts to the same thing, without a particular bias or prevention, they would generally agree in the same opinion, as I now did entirely with him, having made the same reflections to others upon the present state of affairs. This led us into a detail of the method to be pursued for compassing these ends. The point relating to Spain appeared more desirable than practicable; but that with respect to Prussia he thought not difficult, if the court would bring it before parliament, to be approved and enforced by the house in a proper manner. He added, I am no rash or hasty man, being always desirous to act with prudence and moderation; but this thing is of such a nature, and of such importance for the salvation of the whole, that if

there is an insuperable aversion to it in a certain place, and the ministers want help, the parliament should undertake the affair, in order to strengthen their hands. I replied, Such a remedy might be almost as bad as the disease; it would answer no end but that of confusion, and I could never give my consent to proceed in that way.

"I observed to his royal highness, These are the sentiments of a great member, who had of late appeared most earnest and serviceable in supporting the king's measures; and although I concurred in his sentiments, yet I will strenuously oppose any step in the house upon this great affair without a previous concert with the court, that the king might have the merit of being the first mover. I concluded with observing to his royal highness, if it took its rise from thence, it would be the most popular act that ever was done by the crown; repeating again to him, that if it was deferred or neglected, it would be brought forwards, sooner or later, by somebody or other; and if such a popular motion should be made from a certain corner*, and conducted with prudence, I left his royal highness to judge what might be the consequence of it, as the royal family is now unhappily constituted.

* The party of the prince of Wales.

"His royal highness often repeated his approbation of the measure; but still persisted to think that softer means should be used, seeming by no means inclined to have a thing of that nature brought before the house in any shape, which he accompanied with some expressions that gave me more uneasiness than I thought proper to discover.

"As I had observed, in my last letter, that there was but one person in the administration against this expedient, and that all his friends and relations were for it, (which his royal highness looked upon as pointed at the duke of Newcastle,) he took an occasion to say, in his justification, that his grace had mentioned to the king an alliance with Prussia oftener than any other of the ministers, and differed with me only in the means to procure it. To which I took the liberty to reply, I have talked with several persons in the confidence and intimacy of the duke of Newcastle upon this subject, all of whom agreed in the utility as well as the necessity of pursuing what I suggested; but when they applied afterwards to his grace with great earnestness, they let me know, with much concern, that some steps perhaps, to save appearances, might be taken, but nothing effectual would be done. With great submission, I then said, while his grace affected to be for a measure,

(which was so universally liked that nobody could pretend to declare against it,) yet if he opposed the only means that could be employed to make it succeed, it was the same thing as if he opposed the measure. And I could not forbear adding, would the ministers occasionally only mention this expedient to the king, without explaining the motives and necessity of it, in its full extent, so as to expose the danger in not following it, and when the fatal day should overtake this poor nation, disculpate themselves by such a slight and transient way of starting advice, and let the blame fall upon his majesty, it would be a most cruel and unjustifiable behaviour of servants towards their royal master.

"Finding that I made but little impression with respect to the means for procuring the king of Prussia's friendship and help, I took the liberty to lay before him, in the strongest light, the fatal consequences of our present deplorable state, observing, that before the last rebellion, in 1745, the royal family was not very popular in the nation. That event, having afforded an opportunity to his royal highness, (whose character was not so well known till that time,) to exert his extraordinary talents for the safety of the king and kingdom, had reinstated his majesty in the hearts of his people; and his royal highness's superior courage and conduct, though hitherto

unsuccessful abroad, had gained him great glory. But the progress of the french conquests, and the consequences apprehended from it, had now created a general alarm in the kingdom, and as there was no prospect of his having a sufficient force to beat or resist the french army the ensuing campaign, should any disgrace happen to his royal highness, or France be able to penetrate into the provinces of the States, fear and despondency would possess the minds of the people, even of the best affected to the government. And as the apprehension of immediate misery and ruin usually out-balances the memory of past services and merit, I was afraid there would not be wanting some who, laying hold of the general panic, would be wicked enough to endeavour to tarnish, though unjustly, the reputation of his royal highness himself. In the mean time, clamours, increasing with the danger, would be loud against the administration, for not having advised the only means of salvation; and the ministers, to vindicate themselves, would cast the blame upon his majesty, by whispering abroad their pitiful efforts to dispose his majesty to gain the king of Prussia, as if they had really exerted themselves as became them for that purpose. By this means the cause of our misfortunes would be laid upon his majesty; his royal highness's great services, in hav-

ing saved this nation, would be forgot, and the affection of the people might be shaken; and when these two pillars of our present happy establishment should be weakened, I much questioned whether the remaining part of the family would be popular enough to uphold the tottering fabric.

"After a pause, and begging pardon for the liberty I was going to take, I begged his royal highness to consider what might be the consequence if universal calamity and distress should overspread the nation, and the whole royal family should become unpopular, in not being able to afford the least hopes of redress and safety. Might not the intolerable smart, as mankind is made, of present grievances, outweigh the duty of unprofitable loyalty and allegiance, and dispose the nobility and gentry, hurried on by despair, to seek refuge even where destruction threatened; and, finding no other resource to save their persons, families and estates, make their peace and terms with the pretender? However absurd such a compromise may appear, it was formerly negotiated (though disappointed by an extraordinary accident,) in the reign of our glorious deliverer king William; and may God avert it! But what has been, may be again attempted; and perhaps with greater success, where the motives and grounds may be thought stronger.

" His royal highness, without making any reply for some time, seemed sensibly affected with this remarkable reflection. However, recovering himself, he still persevered in shewing an indisposition to the most material parts of the scheme for gaining the king of Prussia; willing to have a minister sent to Berlin with general instructions for settling a good understanding between the two courts, but not to have the affair brought in any shape into the house of commons.

" He was then pleased to ask me, who I thought might be the most proper person to be employed there? intimating, that although Sir Everard Fawkener had been named, his appointment was not absolutely fixed. I told him the person was not of such weight and consideration as the powers and authority to be given him. On his repeating this question, I said, I believe I could, if I might take that liberty, name a person; and then, with excuses for my freedom, I expressed my wishes that his royal highness himself, under colour of making a visit to the army in Flanders, would from thence take a trip to Berlin, not doubting but his presence and address at that court would effectually answer all our desires. I believe, in the course of our conversation, I recommended that journey to his royal highness three times; he did not appear

offended, but shook his head, without making any reply, which I think I understood but too well.

" At last he hinted that I might be mistaken in my notions of the king of Prussia, and it might not be so easy to gain him as I imagined. I said, I could not, indeed, and would not be answerable for that; but being convinced of the melancholy state of our affairs, of the irresistible power of France, and that there could be no other possible way to save Europe, and this nation, but by the friendship and assistance of that prince, I thought the attempt should be made in the manner most likely to succeed. But I must add, at the same time, in justification of myself, that, in case some superficial steps should be taken only to save appearances, and what might prove the most effectual should be omitted, it was no longer my scheme; for he that proposes a remedy for a most desperate case, is not answerable for the success, if the most material parts of the ingredients should be left out.

" His royal highness often mentioned the queen of Hungary with great affection and regard, and that we should do nothing to disoblige her. I agreed with him in that opinion, provided her behaviour was consistent with our own safety, assuring him that this scheme was

by no means pointed to give the least offence to her hungarian majesty; but things were come to that extremity, that the houses of Austria, Prussia, Russia, and the maritime powers, all joined together, are no more than barely sufficient to check and prevent the universal monarchy of France.

" After an hour and a half's conversation I took my leave of his royal highness, extremely pleased with the affable manner in which he received and heard my free conference; but as much concerned to find that I had made no greater impression upon him to induce him to concur in the means for the execution of a measure which he could not but own was necessary, and the only one that could be suggested to procure a tolerable peace; there not being the least prospect of his being able to make a successful campaign.

" Upon the whole, no prince appears to have been ever endowed with greater talents; can have a better understanding, or a quicker apprehension; can have a more engaging or agreeable way in delivering his own, or hearing the sentiments of others; nor greater skill and ability to parry what he does not relish, or to support his own way of thinking. When I reflect upon all that passed; his royal highness's own confession of the great uncertainty at least of his

having an army sufficient to withstand the French; his devoted attachment to the house of Austria; his visible preference of the duke of Newcastle to all the rest of the ministers, there seems to be something unintelligible and mysterious in this affair between his royal highness and the duke of Newcastle, which I can no otherwise account for but in the following manner:

"The duke of Newcastle, although he cried aloud for peace while the earl of Granville was prime, is now as earnest for carrying on the war, without any other consideration than that of thinking he acts agreeably to his majesty's inclination, with whom he is resolved at any rate to gain and preserve the chief credit and power; being perhaps apprehensive, too, that his slippery power may depend in some measure upon the continuation of the war. At the same time the duke of Cumberland's great soul will not suffer him to think of peace without endeavouring to take his revenge of the French, and therefore seems resolved, at all hazards, even that of his own person, to try the fate of another campaign. The house of Austria will never think of peace as long as she has the least hopes of getting subsidies to carry on the war; and cannot bear the thoughts of having the possession of Silesia guarantied by the powers of

Europe to the king of Prussia, without which it is impossible to gain that prince. And as his intervention might be a means to procure a peace, and a serious attempt to gain him would disoblige the queen of Hungary, and not be very agreeable to the king, his royal highness and his grace act in concert to disappoint this measure; and God knows what may be the consequence of this disappointment, without a special interposition of his providence."

We gratify the reader with a note from lord Chesterfield to Mr. Walpole, after the communication of one of these letters, March 22, 1748-9. "I return you your paper with a thousand thanks for your communication of it to me. I am sorry to say, that the great point upon which it chiefly turns (I mean a sincere and cordial alliance with Prussia) is now more impracticable than ever, from many causes, which I need not trouble you with. You know most of them, and can easily guess the rest. The present prospect which turns *some people's heads* with hopes, I confess, almost turns mine with fears. I should be very glad, when you have time to throw away, that you would let me have a share of it. I will wait on you any time that you will please to name, or am at home every morning till twelve, every day till Saturday."

Notwithstanding this unsuccessful termination of the conference with the duke of Cumberland, Mr. Walpole persevered in his endeavours; and, finding the power of the duke of Newcastle predominant in the cabinet, he undertook the arduous task of swaying a person of his jealous disposition, who was anxious to ingratiate himself with the sovereign by an implicit adoption of his system in the conduct of the war, and had recently sacrificed lord Harrington to the king's dislike, by acquiescing in his dismission from the office of secretary of state. He not only submitted to the lord chancellor his letters to the duke of Cumberland, accompanied with the most urgent expostulations to use his influence over the duke of Newcastle; but he likewise communicated them to Mr. Stone*, and requested an interview with the duke, with an intention to deliver them, and urge his arguments in person. Mr. Stone expressed the highest satisfaction in the perusal, and "hoped they could not fail to have some impression on the personage to whom they were addressed;" but prudently insinuated, that the paragraph in the third letter, relating to the duke of Newcastle, was too strong and personal, and might

* Confidential secretary of the Duke.

be omitted without prejudice to the main argument. The duke, being on the point of setting out for Claremont, deferred the interview till his return, and desired the communication of the papers which Mr. Walpole transmitted; but, he with the frankness natural to his character, did not erase the offensive paragraph. The duke returned the papers, with a letter vindicating his own conduct, by asserting that he had first suggested the necessity of an alliance with Prussia, which had produced the treaties of Breslaw and Dresden, and that he was equally anxious to conciliate the king of Spain. Alluding to the offensive paragraph, he adds, "I cannot conclude without lamenting my misfortune, that you should be so little apprised of the state of our affairs at court, as to impute to me singly, a difference of opinion with all my relations, confidents, and friends, as to Prussia; when, I believe, I am the only person who has of late ventured to open his mouth upon that subject to his majesty. I have done it in the manner I thought dutiful to him, and right to the public. This much I thought necessary to say, in my own vindication, upon a fact which I am persuaded you was not acquainted with*."

* The duke of Newcastle to Mr. Walpole, Cockpit, Dec. 28, 1747.

These remarks extorted from Mr. Walpole a bitter and animated reply:

"MY LORD, Cockpit, Dec. 28, 1747.

"I received, with the papers returned to me by Mr. Stone, the honour of a letter from your grace, in which you are pleased to acquaint me, that no one servant of the king has more contributed towards getting Prussia and Spain than yourself. I will not dispute with your grace that point; but I cannot agree that your having suggested and persevered in advising the treaty with Prussia, that was concluded at Hanover, was necessarily followed by that of Dresden.

"The first of those treaties was made in 1745, after the king of Prussia had beat, the first time, prince Charles of Lorraine and the duke of Saxe Weissenfelt; and it was certainly a very prudent step for stopping the king of Prussia from turning his arms towards the electorate of Hanover. But, after that apprehension was over, I am afraid no serious endeavours were used from hence to induce the queen of Hungary to come to a reconciliation with the king of Prussia. No, my lord; if I remember right, she persevered, instead of acting in concert with the allies against France, to employ the forces maintained by our subsidies, to satisfy her vengeance against Prussia; and the treaty of Dresden was not concluded until the

Austrians and Saxons had been vanquished again in two battles; and after the conclusion of that treaty, the court of Vienna refused, and still continues to refuse, to execute that material article for procuring the guaranty of the diet of the empire for his prussian possessions in Silesia. The fatal consequences of these proceedings, which gave the French an opportunity to conquer that year a great part of the Low Countries, and to finish that conquest the next year, are so fully set forth in my first letter to his royal highness, that I need not repeat them to your grace; nor need I mention the considerable sums this nation has paid, and will, I am afraid, still pay, on account of imaginary fears of the king of Prussia. But the case is, we bear an ill-will towards that prince, which we can't conceal; we are apprehensive that ill-will may occasion resentment, and so must be at a great expence to guard against that resentment; when a proper application might have obtained his friendship, had the intimations he flung out been laid hold of and pursued.

"As to Spain, I don't pretend to know what steps have been taken to detach that court from France; but sure I am, that, since the death of the late king, their present catholic majesties have been favourably disposed towards us, were it possible to procure such an establishment in

Italy for don Philip, as would keep him from returning to Spain. This is, I own, a difficult point; and whether it has been pressed to our allies in a manner suitable to the importance and exigency of affairs, I can't pretend to tell.

"Far be it from me to suggest that we should make a separate peace with Spain. But, my dear lord, it is visible to all the world, that we do not speak to our allies with regard to war or peace in a style that necessity and our misfortunes call upon us to do, and the vast and insupportable expences of this country will authorise and justify our doing; but our allies will employ their troops which we pay, just as they please, and we dare not touch upon peace in a manner that becomes us, nor give the least attention to terms offered by France, for fear of their displeasure. I could say a great deal upon this subject, and particularly with regard to the difference between your grace's way of thinking and acting since the removal of the earl of Granville, and your thoughts and actions relative to peace and war before his removal. The reasons are obvious for this alteration; you stand in his place.

"As to your grace's concern at my being so little apprised of the state of affairs at court, as to impute to you, 'singly, a difference of opinion with all your relations, confidents and

friends as to Prussia, whereas you are the only person who has ventured to open his mouth upon that subject to his majesty, and you have done it in the manner you thought dutiful to him and right to the public;' I will not contest that fact. I intended no offence; but what I meant by what I said in the fullness of my heart, was, that having talked the substance of what I wrote to the duke of Cumberland, to some persons in the greatest intimacy and confidence with your grace, they concurred with me in every respect, as to the utility, and even necessity of settling a friendship with the king of Prussia, of pursuing the means proposed in those letters, as the only way to obtain that salutary end; and, in consequence, by that prince's assistance, of procuring more reasonable terms of peace than can possibly be expected from the enemy, who has hitherto been, and in all appearance must continue to be victorious. And some of those persons, after having earnestly discoursed with your grace on that subject, have, with the greatest anxiety and despair, given me to understand that some steps might be taken to save appearances, but nothing would be effectually done.

"I don't doubt but your grace has mentioned this measure, in a certain place, in the most dutiful manner. But, as little as I know the

court, I much doubt whether the barely mentioning it by conversation only, in that place, will prove a benefit to the public; and I hinted, when I sent you the papers, the reason why I thought such a transient intimation, in the closet, of a measure that is not of itself agreeable there, would not succeed, so as to enable you to pursue it with efficacy.

"God forbid that I should think of, or promote, the doing any thing there in an undutiful manner! But this is a matter of such importance, that should be represented at large, and may be done with equal duty and submission, in a way that may afford time and leisure for the serious considerations of the imminent danger that threatens the liberties of Europe and this country; of the only remedy, that, humanly speaking, can save them, and how that remedy should be applied. An extensive and clear deduction of these things might make such an impression as might produce the desired effect; but in all events our case is so desperate, that it should at least be attempted; and as your grace evidently takes the lead in every thing, and is in a manner the prime, should you heartily declare for this measure, and the means suggested to bring it about, I don't question but that your fellow-servants would readily concur with you in it, who at present are thought to

be kept at a distance and in awe of your power for fear of lord Harrington's fate. For although your grace seems to approve the measure, yet if you can't bring yourself to come into the only means that will make it succeed, it is the same thing as if you opposed the measure. And, pray, my lord, do not deceive yourself, in thinking you can deceive others, by making amusements pass for realities; it may skin over the sore for the present, but it will fester more grievously within, and at last may prove an incurable mortification.

"To conclude; if your grace is in earnest for the expedient, in getting the affection and help of the king of Prussia to extricate us out of the present deplorable condition, you are in this respect the most unfortunate person in the opinion of mankind. Your grace loved popularity once; and if you are in earnest, why not take the most effectual way to get it, by sending a proper minister, properly instructed, to gain that prince's friendship and affection? And in a convenient time, as a strong proof of our sincerity, and of his own security, why should not the crown have the merit and glory in taking the lead to have it moved (for it will be the most popular motion that was ever made there,) in parliament, for their concurrence and support? For your grace may depend upon it, that sooner

or later this matter will be stirred there, although entirely against my opinion, unless it takes its rise from the court. And I have heard, that within these two days it has been agitated in a certain quarter*, and should such a motion be started in the house, from that side, I leave your grace to judge of the consequences and confusion it must occasion.

" I have done; and with the compliments of the year, I wish your grace a more successful conduct in the management of our affairs, than we have seen for some years past. And I will give you this additional satisfaction, to assure you that I will never trouble your grace, or *any body else*, with my political reflections; but shall attend my duty in the house, and expect there, with the rest of the well-affected senators, my fate from the mercy of the Gauls. I am, with all due respect, &c."

A letter from Mr. Yorke to Mr. Walpole, will give an insight into the situation and sentiments of the cabinet, and the effect of Mr. Walpole's representations.

" Nov. 30, 1747. I shall dine to-morrow at Powis-house, and beg you would let me carry your papers there again. My lord had not found time before from the hurry of business to give

* Leicester-house.

them a reading, and had set apart this evening or Sunday to consider them deliberately. He bid me tell you, he set a great value on whatever came from you; I am sure the more your wise and prudent notions are reflected upon, the deeper impression they will make, and, in my poor opinion, you cannot do a greater service to your country, nor go off the stage with more honour than by taking every opportunity of repeating them to those whose duty and interest it is to give them the attention they deserve.

You hinted to me that you had thoughts of committing to writing some further ideas on this subject; pray do it, and make your scheme as complete and well-founded as you can. For my part, if proper notice is not taken of what you so seasonably offer upon our present difficult situation, I will not desire you to say or write a word more about it. You will in all events be blameless, and have less to answer for than any body else. I had a conversation with my brother this morning, at which I wish you had been present. His military ardour and situation has by no means got the better of his judgment, and he talks the same language with yourself and many of our friends. He assures me his master is for peace, and not eager for another campaign on the present footing. The prince of Orange has signified his intention of

taking the command. The duke cannot serve under him; and the king will not consent he shall share the command, as the duke of Marlborough did with prince Eugene. What will these selfish and narrow-minded jealousies end in?"

These repeated assaults seem to have perplexed the duke of Newcastle, and finally made some impression in the closet. A rupture between the duke of Newcastle and Mr. Pelham nearly ensued. Lord Gower, to whom Mr. Walpole also submitted his opinion, and the other independent members of the cabinet, supported Mr. Pelham; apprehensions were seriously entertained that a motion would be made in parliament inimical to the system of foreign affairs; the dread of the rebellion having subsided, the party of the prince of Wales began to collect their force, and threaten opposition; and the duke of Cumberland, convinced that no efficient army could be raised to re-conquer the Netherlands, or even to resist the progress of the French in Holland, began to adopt more pacific sentiments.

Fortunately, at this period, the french cabinet made new overtures of accommodation, at the very moment when Maestricht was on the point of surrendering, and "when," to use the expressions of Mr. Walpole, "they might in three

weeks time more have been masters of the whole seventeen provinces in the Low Countries, and consequently of the maritime ports and continent from the Texel to Bayonne, and have dictated at the Hague, or Amsterdam, terms of peace at the good-will and pleasure of their arbitrary and invincible monarch*."

The king, in his speech from the throne, adverted to these overtures, and to the meeting of a congress at Aix-la-chapelle, for settling the terms of pacification; but in such a manner as indicated little hopes of success. So that the unexpected signature of the preliminaries, by the plenipotentiaries of Great Britain, France, and the United Provinces, at Aix-la-chapelle on the 30th of April, 1748, created no less satisfaction than surprise.

Mr. Walpole had the sensible gratification of seeing his former secretary and friend, now Sir Thomas Robinson, joint plenipotentiary with the earl of Sandwich, to conclude the general pacification. The terms of the treaty of Aix-la-chapelle were highly favourable to the maritime powers, as France relinquished all her conquests in the Low Countries, for the restitution of Cape Breton. The house of Austria was alone dissatisfied with the dismemberment of Silesia

* Mr. Walpole's "Motives for signing the Preliminaries."

and the county of Glatz, which was guarantied to the king of Prussia; with the loss of Parma and Placentia, which were settled on don Philip, and the cession of some districts in the Milanese to the king of Sardinia.

Thus, after an immense expence of blood and treasure, ended a war, in which Great Britain and France gained nothing but the experience of each other's strength and power. France perceived the riches and perseverance of Great Britain to be much greater than she had imagined; and Great Britain became sensible that the power of France, acting in the Low Countries, and in her own neighbourhood, against so despicable a barrier as was then opposed, was irresistible. The commercial disputes between Spain and Great Britain in the West Indies, the great object of the war, seemed to have been relinquished, and only specified in the treaty for form's sake; while each of these nations, though mutually weakened, found themselves in the same condition as before the war. The sober and sensible part of the english began to speak with reverence of Sir Robert Walpole's pacific administration, and those who had been his greatest enemies seemed at a loss to account for the reasons why the war had been undertaken *.

* Tindal, vol. 21, p. 373.

By this peace, one of the points which Mr. Walpole had strongly recommended to the ministers and to the duke of Cumberland, and even urged in a private letter to the king, the conciliation of Spain, was effected: Ferdinand the Sixth was united to England by the influence of his consort; and the connection was strengthened by the prudent management of Sir Benjamin Keene. But an alliance with Prussia, the great object of his unremitting labours, was as distant as ever. No representations could conquer the aversion of George the Second to the house of Brandenburgh, and overcome his predilection for the house of Austria. Had the british cabinet adopted decisive and prudent measures, they might perhaps have conciliated both powers; but their conduct disgusted the one, and irritated the other. The king of Prussia was disgusted with their lukewarm efforts to secure the guaranty of Silesia, and, as Mr. Walpole predicted, considered that he owed its insertion in the treaty to the influence of France; while the refusal of England to continue the war till Silesia was restored, irritated the empress queen, erased the recollection of past services, and first sowed those seeds of enmity which produced her alliance with the house of Bourbon.

Although Mr. Walpole was not in an official

situation; yet his services were highly useful during the course of the negotiations, and the good effects of his advice were warmly and gratefully acknowledged by Sir Thomas Robinson:

"Aix, September 18, N. S. 1748. I have been honoured with your letter of the 20th past, O. S. from your delicious Wolterton, which would be so in every sense if you had that health that I wish, and I could be instrumental in sending you *there* the first news of the peace which you so much long for. If I had any satisfaction in being called from Vienna into this more conspicuous point of life, I have felt it in nothing so much as in the part you are pleased to take in this notice which his majesty has honoured me with. My next satisfaction is in being already so much nearer home, and in my hopes of carrying all my family soon into England. * * * * * * * * *

"The least good success in my present commission will I hope put an end, with all manner of justice and equity, to my long peregrinations, which, however long and irksome, have been always influenced and guided with those principles which influenced and guided your conduct. So that as long as I act and breathe in a public character, believe me, dear sir, it is your own spirit that is in motion, as far as I can imitate, and would emulate."

In consequence of his intimate acquaintance with all the treaties between England and Spain, Mr. Walpole discovered an important omission in the definitive treaty of Aix, which had escaped the notice both of the plenipotentiaries and of the british cabinet. The terms of the british commerce with Spain were settled according to certain articles in the treaty of Utrecht, which contained many grievous restrictions on the english trade, without referring to the subsequent treaty of 1715, by which those grievances were modified. Mr. Walpole had no sooner received a copy of the preliminaries, than he was struck with the omission, and imparted his observations to the chancellor * and Mr. Pelham. The duke of Bedford, secretary of state, and lord Sandwich, the principal plenipotentiary, accordingly applied, in their distress, to Mr. Walpole, and availed themselves of his advice to obviate the ill effects of this omission.

This incident gave rise to some interesting observations by Mr. Walpole on the treaty of Aix-la-chapelle, which he stiles a Rhapsody of Foreign Politics, and which do honour to his judgment and diplomatic knowledge.

In this Rhapsody, Mr. Walpole mentions a plan, which he suggested to the ministry, to remove one cause of perpetual misunderstanding

* Mr. Walpole to lord Hardwicke, Wolterton, Nov. 9, 1748.

with Spain, and at the same time to secure the South Sea trade from future depredations, by ceding Gibraltar to Spain, in exchange for Porto Rico or St. Augustin; a measure which failed of success, as well from the unwillingness of the british cabinet to yield a fortress of such strength and importance as Gibraltar, as from the aversion of the Spanish court to give the English a footing in the West Indies.

On these subjects we subjoin two letters afterwards written by Mr. Walpole to the duke of Bedford and Lord Hardwicke.

To the duke of Bedford.

" MY LORD, Wolterton, July 2, 1748.

" In obedience to your grace's commands, I send you inclosed the tract I mentioned in my last. I could have made it shorter, but upon reflection, I thought your grace would forgive the length of it if I took the liberty to let it go as it was drawn up at the time when the clamours of the nation were so loud for a war with Spain on account of the depredations in the West Indies. Your grace must be the best judge whether it can be of any use at this juncture according to the method that is to be taken to re-establish peace and commerce upon the foundation of a lasting friendship with Spain.

It is natural to believe that in pursuance of the preliminaries all-convenient dispatch will be

used to conclude with that crown upon the footing of former treaties in general. But whether it may not be at the same time understood by a written or verbal declaration, that any particular contested rights with regard to commerce or possessions, that may have given a handle to differences between the two nations since the unfortunate treaty of Utrecht, should be discussed after the general peace of Europe by plenipotentiaries on both sides, and proper explanations made to remove or prevent all occasions of future dissentions, is what I cannot pretend to know or presume to inquire after. All that I shall say at present, after giving your grace so much trouble, is, that nothing can be more beneficial to the trade of England than to settle and cultivate a strict friendship with Spain, because the preservation of the peace and particularly of commerce will depend upon a real friendship more than the words or stipulations of treaties. And now there is I hope a prince of a pacific temper on that throne, a true Spaniard, that must therefore be desirous to free his subjects from the great oppressions and losses that they have suffered by the war, that cannot if he consults the interest of Spain, have any particular attachment to France; and can have no views to new acquisitions as the late proud Catholic king and his ambitious queen had, and

as I have reason to believe from a particular information I had about two years since, that the present queen consort, who has a great influence and credit with her husband, is very well disposed to the english nation, there may be an inclination in that court to come into such temperaments and good understanding with his Majesty, as may lay a basis for a lasting friendship between the two nations. Other things occur to me, but, I have already transgressed the bounds of my sphere, and I am almost afraid of decency. But your grace's goodness will pardon the importunate zeal I shew for a durable peace with Spain."

Mr. Walpole to Lord Chancellor Hardwicke.

"I am extremely obliged to your lordship for the regard you are pleased to shew to my thoughts, and particularly happy that they seem in great measure to coincide with your lordship's, I send you again according to your desire, my observations upon the late treaty with Spain, with some additional reflections calculated to bring our friendship with that nation, so happily began, to perfection, by preventing, if possible, any future disputes, or at least animosities relating to the navigation and trade in the West Indies; for that reason, I take the liberty to send your lordship inclosed some ob-

servations I made last year (in considering the treaty of Aix-la-chapelle) upon the american treaty of 1670, which I think must naturally be the object of Mr. Keene's new negotiation, your lordship will find by them, that I propose even to go so far as to give up Gibraltar for an equivalent place to be yielded by us to Spain, in the West Indies, but, as I suppose, Spain has not yet mentioned that point; to be sure, considering the disposition of this nation in favour of Gibraltar, it may be most advisable, if we can, to prevent our future disputes in America by proper regulations.

If what I have suggested deserves notice, I hope your lordship will employ your credit where it is proper, and let Mr. Keene be sent for over, to instruct the ministers of the plan and measures necessary to finish this great work; as soon as I saw the definitive treaty in 1748, and I found it might be necessary to set a negotiation on foot with Spain, I did suggest to my good friend Mr. Pelham in a letter from that country, that it might be proper to let Mr. Keene come immediately from Portugal before he should go as minister to the court of Spain; I am persuaded it would have saved much time at least; he mentioned it where, my lord, I am not so happy as to have my notions relished. I find that those, who I believe have

the most to say in foreign affairs, differ entirely with me as to the motives and causes that brought about that peace in so critical a juncture, and I am afraid by the little light and information I have of what is doing abroad, that I do not agree with them in the measures that are taking to preserve that peace, and to compass that great essential point to get the archduke chosen king of the Romans, for I think we act upon wrong facts and promises, consequently our conclusions will scarce be right; in short, my lord, we have been and I suppose are still negotiating with princes that are not powers, and those negotiations I apprehend will rather tend to create new troubles without giving us any new strength or security, and perhaps obstruct rather than promote that so much to be desired election. But this is all in confidence to your lordship only, I have no pique or humour, and shall always think myself obliged to support with my little credit the measures of the government, believing they are meant to preserve the peace we so happily enjoy. What falls from your lordship's mouth or pen will ever be law to me, and therefore, agreable to your intimations and indeed to my own intentions, I shall communicate my observations to none but friends, and to but few of them. My friend Mr. Pelham had from me the

greatest part of them out of the country, he having been so good as to send me a copy of the treaty thither. Mr. William Pitt*, who I look upon as very zealous for the administration and very discreet as well as able, has had a perusal of them: the participation shall go no farther, unless my intimate friend your son Mr. Yorke, should have the curiosity to desire to see them. I am," &c.

* I find, among the papers at Wolterton, a letter from Mr. Pitt, in which he highly praises the Observations on the Spanish Treaty, contained in this Rhapsody of Foreign Politics.

"DEAR SIR, Dec. 3, 1750.

"I return you, with a thousand thanks, the Observations on the Spanish Treaty; which are so material and instructive, that I could have wished to have kept them longer in my hands. I shall with great pleasure take the first opportunity of waiting on you, in hopes of some farther conversation upon this very national concern. I am, with a very sincere sense of your great goodness to me," &c.

CHAPTER 33.

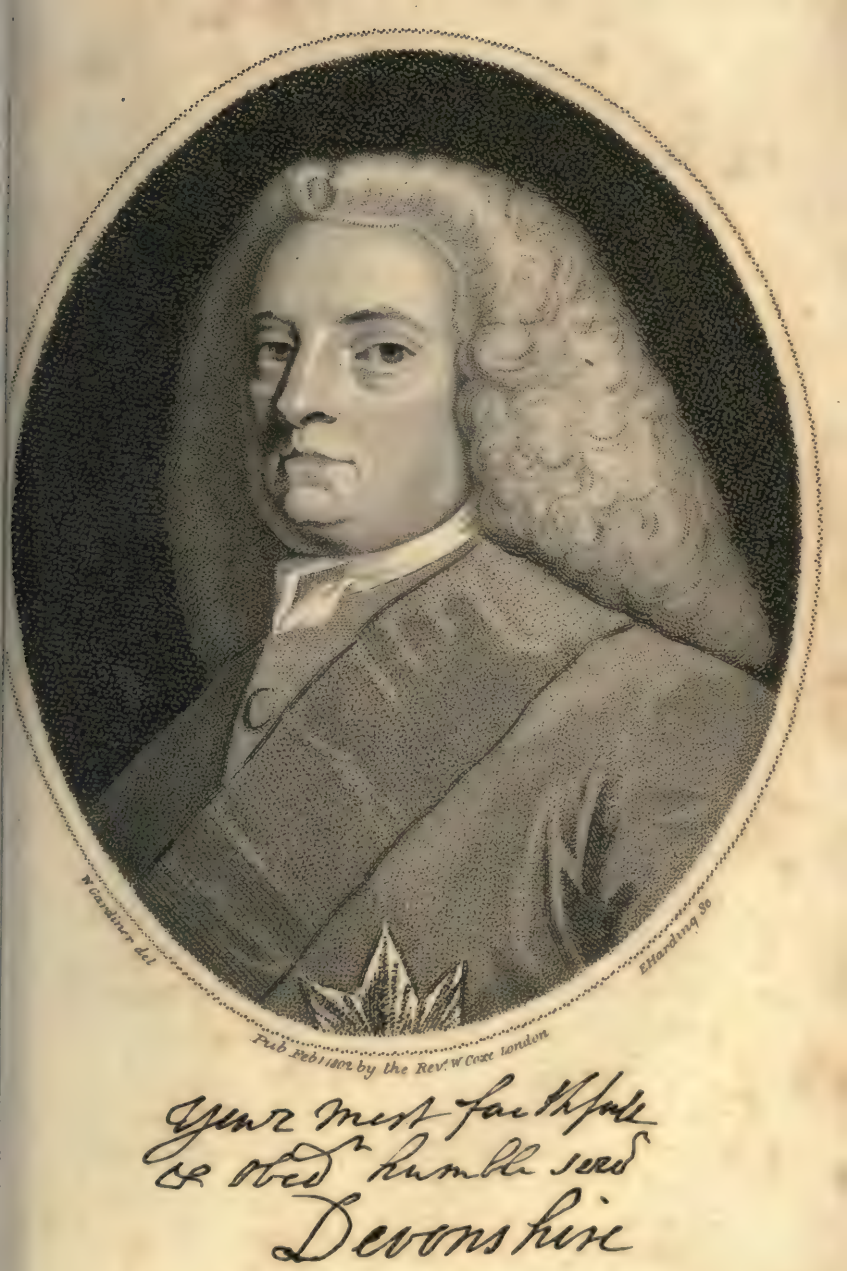
1748.

Satisfaction of Mr. Walpole on the Marriage of his Son with Lady Rachel Cavendish—Character of the Duke of Devonshire—Letter to Mr. Yorke—Speech on the Grant of 100,000l. to the Queen of Hungary—His Sheme for the Security of the Netherlands—Paper on the Causes of the Peace—Letter from Bishop Secker.

THE satisfaction which Mr. Walpole received from the unexpected signature of the preliminaries, was heightened by a domestic incident, the marriage of his eldest son with lady Rachel Cavendish, daughter of William, third duke of Devonshire *, with whom he had long been in habits of the closest intimacy, and with whose family his brother had maintained a strict political connection from the begining of the century.

This noble personage was the son of William, second duke of Devonshire, by lady Rachel, daughter of William, the celebrated lord Russel, who suffered death in the cause of constitutional

* On this happy event, Sir Thomas Robinson justly observes, in a letter to Mr. Walpole, "Meanwhile I shall beg leave to trouble you with my best respects to Mrs. Walpole, with my congratulations upon your son's marriage into the worthiest, for that is more than the greatest, family in England. Aix, Sept. 18, N. S. 1748."



Your most faithful
& obed humble servt
Devonshire

WILLIAM THIRD DUKE of DEVONSHIRE

From an Original in the Poſſeſsion of Lord Walpole

liberty. The duke was born at the close of the preceding century, succeeded to the title in 1729, and filled several high offices in the government, as well as in the royal household.

While he was lord lieutenant of Ireland, he gave a striking instance of prudence and firmness. On the introduction of a new coinage, Swift, elated with his former triumphs in the affair of Wood, and anxious to embarrass the measures of government, distributed inflammatory handbills, ordered the bells of the cathedral to be muffled, and endeavoured to excite a ferment among the people. The duke, informed of these seditious attempts, sent an aid-de-camp to unmuffle the bells, and to threaten Swift with an arrest should any riot be excited. The turbulent dean was intimidated; a peal of loyalty was rung at the cathedral, and perfect tranquillity preserved.

The duke was a man of sound judgment, and unbiassed integrity; and Sir Robert Walpole, who often confidentially consulted him on difficult questions, used to declare, that, on a subject which required mature deliberation, he would prefer his sentiments to those of any other person in the kingdom. Mr. Walpole also paid a just tribute to the character of his noble friend, whose talents were more solid than brilliant. Calling one day at Devonshire-house,

which was just finished, and not finding him at home, he left this epigram on the table:

"Ut dominus, domus est: non extra fulta columnis
"Marmoreis splendet; quod tenet, intus habet."

His grace was, at this period, lord steward of the household, and held a place in the cabinet. Disgusted, however, with the feuds in the cabinet, and perplexed with the jealous disposition of Newcastle, and the desponding spirit of Mr. Pelham, he resigned his office in 1749, and withdrew to a dignified retirement at Chatsworth, prepared, on all occasions of importance, to give his support to government. He was succeeded in his high station by the duke of Marlborough.

The political opinions of the duke of Devonshire according with those of Mr. Walpole, rendered the connection between the two families the more agreeable. In a letter to Mr. Yorke, Mr. Walpole alludes to this event in terms of the highest pleasure; and mentions the odium which he had incurred by the free communication of his opinions on the system of foreign affairs.

"Cockpit, May 21, 1748*. Hurry, on account of my son's nuptials, and preparations to set out for Wolterton, (which I shall do in the middle of next week,) has prevented my answering your affectionate letter of the 15th

* Hardwicke Papers.

sooner. I have had too many marks of your friendship to doubt in the least of the sincerity of your congratulations on the occasion of my new and great alliance, which gives me, indeed, infinite joy and satisfaction; and if it was possible to increase it, it would be by the kind part which all my friends are so good as to take in it; and particularly to find that the noble family to whom my son is allied is no less pleased with it; therefore you guess right in thinking that I shall enjoy the country with greater satisfaction than ever, since my own private, as well as the public concerns, are so much to my own heart's content. I shall endeavour to preserve the first in the same happy situation; but that of the public is in much better and abler hands; and a mutual agreement among those that have the management of affairs, may make the ministers easy, and this still a flourishing nation.

"Providence has done great things for them, if they will but make a right use of the unexpected good fortune: it entirely depends upon themselves. My good offices can be of no use any where. The freedom which my conscience, and concern for my king and country, lately obliged me to take, and which I have the vanity to think was of some service, will never be forgiven; and therefore, although I was very importunate, and am thought by some of the great

est to have been very impertinent, to put an end to a war which threatened a general destruction, I cannot repent of what I did; but I am resolved to enjoy the peace with great calm and contentedness, without giving myself, or any body else, any trouble upon ministerial conduct, being at last convinced that nobody takes advice until he gives it to himself; and in all stations of life,

" Obsequium amicos, veritas odium parit."

His letters to the duke of Cumberland, as well as his private correspondence, prove that Mr. Walpole was prejudiced against the house of Austria, from long experience of her arrogance, jealousy, and interested politics*. In the next session of parliament, he gave a public proof of his sentiments, by his speech in the committee of supply, on the 21st of March 1749, on a message from the king, recommending a demand of 100,000*l.* made by the empress queen. He adopted, in this instance, a mode which he not unfrequently followed, of freely censuring a measure from which he did not withhold his public support.

* In a letter to lord Royston he thus expresses himself on this subject: " May 15, 1754. I am glad to hear the colonel thinks my old friends, the Dutch, are not in so low a condition; but if his hopes of their being of service again to the common cause depends upon the court of Vienna being reasonable in the barrier, or indeed in any other point, I am afraid that great event is still at a great distance; I never yet saw that time." Hardwicke Papers.

" I had flattered myself," he said, " with an imagination that we should have saved this 100,000*l.* as a diminution, so far, of the great debt contracted by the war, or as a means to supply a fund for some necessary and useful undertaking for the public benefit, in cultivating the arts of peace; and particularly, that the settlement and security of Nova Scotia, of so much importance to the commerce and safety of our northern colonies, might have been a proper object for that purpose.

" But since his majesty has been pleased to lay this demand before us, I must own it has been done in the most gracious and impartial manner, by submitting the reasons contained in the memorial of the queen of Hungary's minister to our free deliberation, without any one expression in the message tending to bias or influence our opinion. I shall, therefore, cursorily take notice of the reasons alledged in support of this claim, and then suggest something, which seems so obvious and right, that it is possible the administration may have already prevented me by taking the measure I would presume to recommend to them; and which, if it should be steadily pursued, and have the desired effect, may make the grant of this sum not so unreasonable, at least to me, as it might otherwise be.

" The demand is for the prompt payment of 100,000*l.* part of 400,000*l.* granted to the empress queen by virtue of a treaty signed January 26, 1748; although the certificate (the condition for the payment of that sum,) had not been delivered, under pretence that the troops were upon their march, that the signing of the preliminaries had prevented the arrival of some of them, and that the money was designed to pay the arrears of her generals and officers in the Low Countries, and the troops kept for the defence of them. The pressing instances for prompt payment, besides an air of superiority with which the court of Vienna generally speaks to other powers, seem to imply some more immediate service than that of defending the Low Countries, which I shall take notice of hereafter; but if I was sure that money was to be laid out in repairing the fortifications in Flanders, I should, and I believe every member of the house would, readily consent; any assurances, or any appearance of so good a work, would meet with a general satisfaction.

" The next reason advanced in the Memorial is, that her imperial majesty had shewn so much deference to the king's counsels, that, notwithstanding the sacrifices which she was required to make, she came readily into the peace. This ready accession has certainly great merit; al-

though I am inclined to believe, that if the money now claimed had been paid before her accession, she would not have shewn such a readiness. As I am not acquainted with what passed in the negotiations and conferences with the queen of Hungary's ministers, to induce her to agree to the preliminaries, I have not so lively and luxuriant a fancy as to form imaginary and supposed facts, and force from them imaginary and uncertain conclusions; therefore, I will not so much as suspect that, in those conferences, any expectations were given of the payment of this 100,000*l.* on that condition. It is plain, by the king's impartial message, that nothing of that nature had passed; and had a minister ventured to offer that temptation, yet I am sure my honourable friend* upon the floor would not have paid it without the consent of this house. But let that be as it will, the empress queen, by coming so soon into the peace, was a great service; and here I cannot forbear to observe the unavoidable inconveniences that are inseparable from an alliance composed of many powers, against one great and formidable one; the unwillingness of one ally to concur, may obstruct the greatest action, and prevent the most reasonable peace. And had her imperial

* Mr. Pelham.

majesty absolutely refused to agree to the peace, (although it was much more reasonable than could have been expected, from the circumstances of the allies,) we must indeed have made it, because it was impossible to carry on the war any longer: but it would have been loose, and imperfect, and difficult, to have carried into execution; and therefore the ready concurrence of her imperial majesty was of great moment to complete that necessary work, and is a great inducement to me to grant her the 100,000*l.* now demanded.

" The last reason for supporting this claim is, that the empress, to shew her regard to his majesty, offers, and is willing to concur with the king, in any means that may be proper to preserve the peace established at Aix-la-chapelle. I could have wished, sir, that this offer had been extended farther, not only to preserve the peace of Aix-la-chapelle, but also the tranquillity of Europe, being apprehensive that new and dangerous troubles threaten the immediate disturbance of it. As to the peace lately made, I am afraid that, if the only considerable power that can do it should attempt to break it, we should be in no condition, jointly with our allies, to prevent or withstand such an attempt. The Dutch are no more; and as to the house of Austria, it is well known that they cannot put

their troops into motion without our money, nor into action without requiring from us greater subsidies and supplies than it is possible for us ever to furnish again.

" But I am under no apprehensions that the peace of Aix-la-chapelle will be disturbed. As long as the same principles and motives that brought it about subsist, the peace will subsist too; and, perhaps, I may differ in opinion with many gentlemen in this house, and with multitudes out of it, as to the causes and motives that effectuated the peace; for I by no means attribute it to the distresses that France was under, at the time of making it, to carry on the war. His majesty, by his steady perseverance to act agreeably to our laws and constitution, the bravery of his troops in the field, and our great successes by sea, have gained him the affection of his people, and placed him in an eminence of glory and respect, among all foreign powers, equal to that of any of his predecessors, and, without doubt, had weight in the negotiations for peace. But his troops, brave as they are, were commonly beat, bravely indeed beat; but beat still they were of late years, and were by no means able to resist the rapid progress of the french arms, in the Low Countries, either by sieges or battles."

Mr. Walpole then proved that the unexpected

signature of the preliminaries did not proceed from their losses by sea, from want of money, nor from distresses at home; and asserted, that the moderation of the enemy was derived from the character of Louis the Fifteenth, who had been trained up by cardinal Fleury in pacific sentiments, from the emulation of the nobles in adopting the views of their sovereign, and from their cabals against the two foreigners* who commanded the army in the Netherlands. He also contended, that the same pacific principles would prevail in the counsels of France, during the life of Louis the Fifteenth, provided the same moderation was maintained in England. He expressed his apprehensions, however, lest the affairs of Sweden should excite a new war in Germany and the North: "And should a flame," he said, "be kindled there, although at a great distance from our situation, and from our interests, the sparks, I am afraid, by some fatality, or some unaccountable connection, would blow over into this island."

"The Russians," he added, "are indeed on their march out of Bohemia, but troops and recruits are daily raising by the austrian officers; and camps, as well in that kingdom as in Moravia, are marked out by them against the spring.

* Marshal Saxe and Lowendahl.

Nor is the king of Prussia less assiduous in increasing and completing his armies; declaring that he is obliged to do it for his own security and defence, on account of the military preparations and motions of other princes in his neighbourhood. The vindictive temper of the court of Vienna, and ardent desires to recover Silesia, are but too evident; they having, notwithstanding the strongest stipulation in the treaty of Dresden to procure the guaranty of the empire, for that cession, to his prussian majesty, evaded, upon frivolous pretences, the execution of that article.

" If the Austrians have really no design to foment or be concerned in new troubles, why don't they reduce instead of recruiting and increasing their forces? Why are they making encampments in this time of peace and tranquillity? They have no present apprehensions either from the Turks or from the French, the only enemies they have to fear. This behaviour must necessarily create jealousies; and I cannot but suspect that the 100,000*l.* now demanded to be speedily paid, with so much earnestness, may be immediately wanted for their military preparations on the borders of Silesia, instead of the defence of the Low Countries. And, therefore, if I may take the liberty, I would most earnestly recommend it to the administration, to advise,

if it is not already done, the most serious instances to be made to the court of Vienna, and to obtain the strongest assurances from them that they will not encourage or promote any views or steps to disturb the tranquillity of Germany, or the North; but employ their utmost endeavours to check and prevent any such designs."

He concluded by observing, "We have defensive alliances with Russia, with Prussia, and with the empress queen; and if these powers and their allies should be engaged in a war, whoever may be said to be the aggressors, we shall sooner or later be desired to take a part. The court of Vienna may call upon us to come to her assistance; she may call aloud, but we won't, because we cannot come: and therefore, once more, let me exhort those that are in high station, to think of the proper means to prevent the storm that threatens abroad. France is now disposed to live in peace, for the reasons I have already given, and may therefore be desirous to concert with us in preserving the tranquillity of Europe. A good understanding, and a concert of measures, properly employed by his majesty and the french king, among the powers that seem to be busy in military armaments, may, perhaps, have an effectual weight to prevent a new rupture in Germany and the North; and surely the queen of Hungary, in consideration of

the supplies that have been so plentifully furnished by this nation, and for the 100,000*l.* now demanded, will have a due regard and attention to his majesty's instances on this great occasion, especially joined with those of France.

"Upon the whole, I give my vote to grant this sum of money to the empress queen, on account of her ready accession to the definitive treaty of peace, in expectation that it will be employed in the defence, or repairing the fortifications, of the Low Countries; and that she will, instead of meditating troubles in Europe, do all she can to preserve the present pacification."

The last sentence in this remarkable speech alludes to a scheme, which Mr. Walpole had formed, for putting the barrier towns, and the other great fortresses in the Netherlands, in a proper state of defence. Imbibing in his earliest years the principles of the grand alliance, and employed, in the commencement of his political career, in the arrangement of the barrier treaty, he was deeply impressed with the danger of suffering the Netherlands to fall into the hands of France. His papers abound with treaties and disquisitions, stating and illustrating this subject by historical deductions and incontrovertible arguments, and inculcating the necessity of maintaining the barrier towns in a

state of effective defence. He was sensible, from recent experience, that the weak state of those fortresses had facilitated the progress of the French, and would have occasioned the rapid conquest of Holland, had not hostilities been suspended by the signature of the preliminaries. He was no less aware that perpetual disagreements would arise between the house of Austria, who possessed the sovereignty of those towns, and the Dutch, by whom they were garrisoned, concerning the maintenance of the fortifications; and he knew the repeated declarations of the cabinet of Vienna, that the defence of the Netherlands should be the care of the maritime powers. He therefore proposed, that these fortifications should be maintained at the joint expence of the three powers, and that parliament should devote to that purpose the annual sum of 50,000*l.* for a few years; a scheme which he afterwards fully developed in his Observations on the System of Affairs in 1751, laid before the king*.

The principal arguments in this speech, relating to the causes of this sudden pacification, are drawn from a paper entitled "A Letter to a Friend who desired my Thoughts upon signing the Preliminaries," and written on the following occasion. Bishop Sherlock, who possessed

* See Chapter 35.

great influence over the duke of Newcastle and Mr. Pelham, having justified the continuance of the war, and attributed the signature of the preliminaries to the disordered state of the french finances, Mr. Etough communicated these observations to Mr. Walpole, which instantly extorted from his fertile pen the "Letter to a Friend," proving the signature of the preliminaries to have arisen from other causes. It was shewn to several persons of distinction, and much approved: lord Chesterfield, in particular, was eager for its publication, which Mr. Walpole declined, from an unwillingness to engage in party politics, and from a fear of giving offence. The effect which this, and other papers, had on bishop Sherlock, cannot be ascertained, unless we may judge from his demeanour to Mr. Walpole, which was uniformly respectful and attentive. But their perusal made a deep impression on the celebrated Dr. Secker, then bishop of Oxford, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury; and removed many prejudices which that prelate had entertained against the administration of Sir Robert Walpole. It is with pleasure I lay before the public a letter which that venerable prelate wrote to Mr. Etough on this occasion.

"St. James's, Westminster, April 11, 1749. Mr. Walpole has been so kind as to make me two visits since you were in town, and hath put

into my hands the papers which you intimated he would, with leave to communicate them to the bishop of Glocester; and we have both of us read them with great satisfaction, and a high esteem of the abilities and spirit of the writer, who has shewn the rightest judgment of affairs, supported it with the clearest reason, proposed it, and pursued the proposal with the most steady resolution, and yet the greatest decency and propriety; and (which I could not help taking particular notice of,) hath, in several places, expressed a strong sense of the superintendancy of the Divine Providence. On the whole, I do not think any man living hath deserved so well of this country, in its late situation, as he hath; and I see that his brother deserved much better than I apprehended, though I always both thought better of him, and wished better to him, than some who voted constantly with him. I hope Mr. Walpole's health will long permit him to continue his attention to the public, and that the directors of the public will attend to his advice. The affair of Tobago seems likely to blow over; what may blow from the North, God knows! if we have any wisdom, we shall endeavour to keep clear; but, alas! there seems no disposition to the way which he hath pointed out, and which I fear is the only one."

CHAPTER 34.

1747—1751.

State of the Cabinet—Dismission of Lord Harrington—Succeeded by the Earl of Chesterfield—His Political Life and Character—Resignation—Duke of Bedford becomes Secretary of State—Motives for his Appointment—Influence of the Duke of Cumberland—Party of Leicester-house.

SINCE the re-establishment of the Pelhams, in February 1746, the cabinet had undergone some alteration. The earl of Harrington, having incurred the king's displeasure, was compelled to resign the office of secretary of state, and the seals were unexpectedly given to the earl of Chesterfield.

The political life of lord Chesterfield was singularly checquered. He commenced his public career on the accession of George the First, under the Whig administration, and, by the interest of his relation, general Stanhope, was placed about the person of the prince of Wales, obtained a seat in parliament, and soon distinguished himself as an able speaker. During the schism of the Whig administration, he attached himself to the prince of Wales, rejected the repeated offers of his kinsman, and exerted his abilities on the side of opposition. On the

death of his father, in 1726, he succeeded to the title, and aspired to the highest employments of the State, when George the second ascended the throne. But his expectations were disappointed by the influence of queen Caroline, who was offended with his endeavours to rise by means of Mrs. Howard, at that period the favourite mistress of George the Second*.

In 1728 he was appointed embassador to Holland, and filled his office with great credit and address. In 1730 his services were rewarded with the office of lord steward and the order of the garter. He aspired, however, to the embassy of France, and to the post of secretary of state; but was disappointed of both. Still ignorant of the cause of his failure, he further disgusted the queen by his assiduous attention to the favourite, and was accordingly dismissed in 1733.

From that period he entered the lists of opposition, indiscriminately decried the measures of government, and employed all his eloquence and wit against the popular topics of corruption and hanoverian influence. His virulent invectives, and a dispute concerning the legacy which George the First had left to his wife†,

* Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole, chap. 31.

† Melesina de Schulemberg, countess of Walsingham, and daughter of George the First by the duchess of Kendal.

personally offended the king; and he was omitted in the arrangement of the new administration, on the resignation of Sir Robert Walpole. He accordingly continued his violent opposition until the formation of the Broad Bottom Ministry, when he arranged, with the duke of Newcastle, in conjunction with Gower and Cobham, the coalition of parties, and acted with becoming moderation*. In consequence of this arrangement, he was strongly recommended by the duke of Newcastle for the embassy to the Hague, and the government of Ireland; but the king put an absolute negative on the proposal, and declared that he should have nothing. His majesty added a peremptory command, "not to trouble him with any more such nonsense; he had been forced to part with those he liked, but would not, on any account, be prevailed on to take into his service those that were so disagreeable to him; with other strong expressions to the same effect†."

The king's consent, however, being at length extorted, after a cold audience, in which the only words addressed to him were, "You have received your instructions my lord,‡" he re-

* Lord Hardwicke's Parliamentary Journal.

† Mr. Stone to Lord Chancellor Hardwicke, Newcastle-house, Thursday afternoon, four o'clock.—Hardwicke Papers.

‡ Maty's Life of Lord Chesterfield.

paired to Holland. The sanguine expectations which the public entertained of the success of his embassy were not fulfilled; a failure more owing to the fluctuating and uncertain counsels of the dutch government, than to his own want of address. He also felt the disadvantages of his former opposition to continental measures, which he was now commissioned to promote. On this dilemma, Mr. Walpole observes in a letter to Mr. Yorke: "I look upon lord Chesterfield's laboured harangue in the same light that you do; but what pleases me in it is to see him value himself in being employed to concert measures, to satisfy engagements he had contributed to form. These engagements were the accession of the States to the pragmatic sanction; engagements which he and his friends, when in opposition, exclaimed against, as calculated to serve hanoverian views. But I am glad he is now with the ministry; his wit will be of use, in public and in private, to reconcile the refined and contradictory speculations of lord Cobham to reason and practice*."

Lord Chesterfield filled, however, his high office in Ireland with equal dignity and condescension; he promoted various plans for the advantage of that kingdom, and his conduct in

* May 25, 1745.—Hardwicke Papers.

this exalted station received the approbation of all parties.

On the resignation of the earl of Harrington, he was promoted to the seals, at the sole recommendation of the duke of Newcastle, and even without the knowledge of Mr. Pelham and the other members of the cabinet. He now conceived new hopes of acquiring superior influence in the cabinet; with a view to recover the good-will of the king, he paid assiduous court to lady Yarmouth, and succeeded in obtaining her cordial support. But the king's aversion was invincible; he treated the new secretary with civility, was pleased with his wit and vivacity, and conversed familiarly on trifles; but in matters of business, was dry and reserved *.

The frequent conferences of lord Chesterfield with lady Yarmouth excited the jealousy of the duke of Newcastle, to whom he never imparted what passed; his grace, in return, encroached on his department, and never communicated his private correspondence with lord Sandwich. Chesterfield was accordingly a mere cypher in office. Perceiving his want of influence, he never avowed an opinion in the closet contrary to the sentiments of the king; never mentioned Prussia, though anxious to promote that alli-

* Mr. Fox to Sir Charles Hanbury Williams.—Hanbury Papers.

ance; never proposed a plan for peace, though he was desirous of any peace: he was never explicit in his opinion, wrote superficially to lord Sandwich, and only when he was commanded to write; and told a foreign minister, that he had much to do, but little to say, and was the third *commis* in England*.

To this public nullity was added a total want of interest in promoting his friends and relatives, of which he gives a striking instance to his friend Sir Charles Hanbury Williams: "London, Dec. 8, O. S. 1747. I laid your application, for a removal to Aix-la-chapelle, before the king, in the best manner and the best words that I possibly could, for I laid your letter itself before him; but with what success I will, according to my custom, tell you very frankly and truly. His majesty read your letter with attention, and returned it without saying any thing upon it. I asked him, what answer he commanded me to give you? He said, whatever I pleased. I asked, whether that meant that he was pleased to grant your request, as I hoped it did? He answered, *Nothing like it.* I urged, that, in case the conferences at Aix-la-chapelle took the shape of a congress, it would be impossible for lord Sandwich alone to go through the

* From Lord Hardwicke's Parliamentary Journal.

business, and the forms; that I did not see that he could have so good a colleague as yourself, and moreover, that your removal from Dresden to Aix-la-chapelle, where, if you did not go, somebody else must, would be a *clear saving* of your present appointments. To all which I had no other answer, but that bow which is the signal for us to go out of the closet."

He likewise ineffectually solicited the rank of colonel in favour of his cousin Mr. Stanhope, and conceived hopes of success, because the king neither refused nor granted his request. But his majesty gave away two regiments, and made two aid-de-camps, with the rank of colonel, without including Mr. Stanhope.

These public and private mortifications induced him, in February 1748, to relinquish his office. The king received his resignation with outward marks of regret, but with inward satisfaction. Lord Chesterfield took his leave of public life with dignity and complacency, and, to prove that he did not retire in ill-humour, solicited and obtained a seat at the Admiralty Board for his brother. In public, he attributed his resignation to his declining health; but, in private, did not scruple to say, that as he could neither serve the public, nor his particular friends, he deemed it unnecessary to retain his employment; he declared, however, that he

would never more submit to the slavery of opposition, and never swerved from his resolution. His retreat made less sensation than a political pamphlet on the subject* styled "An Apology for a late Resignation," which contained some curious facts, and was supposed to be either written by himself, or under his inspection †.

The expected vacancy of the seals occasioned great cabals. Lord Sandwich was intended for the post by the duke of Cumberland and the duke of Newcastle, who were at that time closely united; but they could not venture openly to declare their intentions, because he was no favourite with the king, and was disliked by the pacific members of the cabinet. Both the duke of Newcastle and Mr. Pelham

* "Lord Chesterfield," says Mr. Rigby, in a letter to Sir Charles Hanbury Williams, "retired very quietly by himself, and the duke of Bedford took the seals, with as little noise or bustle, or even conversation, as if the two box-keepers at the play-house had changed places. The very little tittle-tattle that it occasioned, I own, was very extraordinary. Since, indeed, here has been a very curious pamphlet about it, called 'An Apology for a late Resignation,' which has made much more noise than the thing itself."—Hanbury Papers. I was informed by my much respected and amiable patron Dr. Douglas, the late Bishop of Salisbury, that this pamphlet was written by Mallet.

† These anecdotes relating to lord Chesterfield are principally taken from lord Hardwicke's Parliamentary Journal, and a letter from Mr. Fox to Sir Charles Hanbury Williams, dated Feb. 17, 1747-8.

affected to recommend no one; the former, however, hinted that the seals ought to be offered to the duke of Bedford, who, it was thought, would decline the offer in favour of his friend lord Sandwich; but he disappointed this scheme, by accepting the seals himself, and lord Sandwich succeeded him as first lord of the admiralty.

Mr. Fox, who had highly distinguished himself for his skill and assiduity in business, and for his parliamentary abilities, was designated by the public voice as the most likely person to succeed lord Chesterfield*; but he neither solicited nor expected the office himself, though his numerous friends were active in their exertions, and he was even warmly countenanced by Mr. Pitt, afterwards his great rival.

At this period the duke of Newcastle predo-

* "You will expect," writes Mr. Fox to Sir Charles Hanbury Williams, "I should say something of myself, as having been so much named on this occasion. You will believe, that when lord C. resigned, I felt with regard to the Seals, as I shall with respect to the See of Winchester, when that prelate dies. Indeed I no more thought of the one than I did of the other. The duke of Newcastle declared early he would name nobody; Mr. Pelham said the same. Hence standers-by named every body; and, among the rest, me. All Sandwich's enemies were my friends; or, to express it better than by the word enemies, those who wished him not to succeed, as it would be too strong a declaration in favour of the warlike system. Joined to these, who were numerous and of rank at court, the voice of the house of commons was much in my fa-

minated in the cabinet; he had conciliated the good-will of the king, and was foremost in promoting his continental politics. He strongly enforced the great measure which now occupied the cabinet, the election of the archduke Joseph as king of the Romans; a measure which, at this moment, unnecessarily involved England in the chaos of german politics; and, as it was opposed by the courts of Versailles and Berlin, required enormous subsidies to purchase the votes of the electoral princes *.

The party of the prince of Wales, or, as it was usually stiled, of Leicester-house, from the place of his residence, began at this time to assume a formidable appearance, by uniting with the remains of the former opposition, and with those who, like Sir John Hynde Cotton, had deserted

vour, and of none more loudly than Lyttleton, Pitt, &c. I flatter myself that from personal affection, too, I had more active friends than I could have imagined, or is usual; and this has been a pleasure to me. On the other side, as I had no thoughts of it, or pretensions to it, (though spirit enough to undertake it if it came strangely in my way,) as the execution of it might have been attended with great discredit to myself, and certainly with much uneasiness; and as the whole of the transaction has been such as leaves me the honour of being talked of for it, without the reproach of having pretended to what I could not attain, I am in my own mind as easy as ever I was, and shall go on in my old track as cheerfully as ever, with as little thought as ever I had of being secretary of state.—War-office, Feb. 17, O. S. 1747-8. Hanbury Papers.

* See chapter 36.

the party of the court. The parliamentary leaders of this party in the house of commons were, lord Egmont, author of the celebrated pamphlet, "Faction Detected," a fluent and plausible debater, warm in his friendships, and violent in his enmities; Doctor Lee, a civilian of high integrity and profound investigation, who tempered an equal ardour with greater judgment; and Mr. Nugent*, an undaunted, lively and eccentric speaker. The party had recently gained an acquisition in Mr. Doddington, a former adherent of the prince, who, at his request, resigned the treasuryship of the navy, in which office he had considerably enriched himself. He was induced to quit the administration by the offer of the prince to reinstate him in full favour, and to place in his hands the whole direction of his affairs. But he found the new court more agitated with feuds and cabals than the ministry which he had deserted. The adherents of the prince fondly anticipated his accession to the throne, and, in imagination, divided among themselves the spoils of administration. Mr. Doddington was appointed treasurer of the

* Afterwards earl of Clare. The late earl of Orford, speaking of the debates on the marriage-act, observes, "Nugent shone extremely in opposition to the bill, and though every now and then on the precipice of absurdity, kept clear of it with great humour and wit, and argument."—Lord Orford's Works, 4to, vol. 5, p. 36.

chambers, and kissed the prince's hand on the promise of a future peerage, the management of the house of lords, and the seals for the southern department. He was commissioned to announce to Mr. Furnes a seat at the treasury board, to Sir Francis Dashwood the treasurership of the navy, and to Mr. Henley the office of solicitor-general, and to settle with lord Talbot the place which he would occupy. Meetings were formed, and consultations held, for arranging the proceedings at the commencement of a new reign; and a plan adopted to dismiss the Pelhams, dissolve the parliament, and obtain a new civil list of 800,000*l.* a clear annuity, throwing the surplus of the revenue to the public. Mr. Doddington undertook to raise two or three hundred thousand pounds until the new parliament should grant the civil list. These arrangements were communicated to the earl of Carlisle, lord chief justice Willes, and several other persons in the confidence of the prince; and the division of the spoil, as might have been expected, occasioned endless intrigues*.

These proceedings were too public not to be known at court, and excited the resentment of the king, and the jealousy of the ministers, which were still farther heightened by a dispute

* Lord Melcombe's Diary, p. 5–7.

relating to the court of stannaries in Cornwall. The breach was widened by the arts of lord Bolingbroke, who at this period influenced the counsels of Leicester-house. Excluded by the voice of all parties from a share in the government, he endeavoured to annihilate all party distinctions, and to promulgate a political creed, founded on metaphysical subtleties, and theoretical notions, incompatible with the principles of human government, and hostile to the church and constitution of England*.

In the second and third sessions of the new parliament, the adherents of the prince took the lead against administration; but, divided among themselves, and supported only by a small remnant of the former opposition, were ill calculated to combat the strong and compact phalanx of the ministerial party; among whom the names of Pelham, Fox, Pitt, and Murray† stood most conspicuous. On this side Mr. Walpole also ranged himself; but acted with that independent spirit which, in supporting government, scorned to defend all the measures of administration. Besides the grant of 100,000*l.* to the queen of Hungary, he spoke several times on different subjects; but as his speeches appear

* See Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole, chapter 25.

† Solicitor-general, afterwards earl of Mansfield.

in the printed debates, it is unnecessary to detail them in this place.

In the third session, which commenced on the 17th of January 1751, the party of the prince seemed likely to gain great accession from the just unpopularity which the ministry incurred by the subsidiary treaties in Germany; while lord Cobham and his friends meditated a secession from the ministerial phalanx. But the unexpected death of the prince, on the 20th of March 1751, gave a new aspect to public affairs, and produced a great and singular change in the temper of the court, and the counsels of the kingdom. The effect in the house of commons is explained by Mr. Fox in a few words: "The division," he says, "against the army last Wednesday, was 43. Dr. Lee spoke for us, and gave his true reason, the prince's death, which (he said) makes us much weaker than we were. It makes our side much stronger in parliament, I am sure; for, except lord Egmont, who spoke with great moderation, lord Middlesex, and Mr. Marten, no one of the prince's family voted against us. Of the rest, one half was away, and the other with us. I don't foresee a debate this session, nor any difficulty to the minister, but that of getting 40 every day to make an house*."

* Mr. Fox to Sir Charles Hanbury Williams, 1751. Hanbury Papers.

The effect in the cabinet was instantly visible; the king acquired a temporary emancipation from the influence of the Pelhams; and the duke of Newcastle, who, before this event, is represented as, "afraid of the king, to a degree that was ridiculous*," became more timorous than ever. The king wished to prevent the entrance of lord Harrington into the cabinet, on his return from Ireland, to introduce lord Granville into the administration, and to confer on lord Holdernesse the seals of secretary of state; and the will of the sovereign was now a law. The reconciliation between lord Granville and the duke of Newcastle was effected through the mediation of Mr. Nugent: he arranged a private meeting at his own house; the two rival statesmen passed a convivial evening together, and the next day their coalition was announced. The duke of Dorset succeeded lord Harrington as lord lieutenant of Ireland, and his place of president of the council was conferred on lord Granville.

The public were justly astonished at this coalition, after the repeated declarations of the Pelhams to the king, to the parliament, and to their friends and acquaintance, both in public and private, that they would never again act with Granville; but their honour was saved, by

* Mr. Fox to Sir Charles Hanbury Williams, Feb. 17, 1750-1.

the promise of the new president, to act, like the earl of Wilmington, a subordinate part. He was induced to submit to this condition, from the embarrassment of his circumstances, the decline of his health, and want of parliamentary influence, notwithstanding his aspiring genius, commanding talents, and the favour of his sovereign. He lent his name and talents to the administration, and continued a cypher in the government until his death, without a single attempt to regain his former superiority.

The resolution of the king to give the seals to lord Holdernesse, coincided with the inclination of Newcastle to remove the duke of Bedford, and his adherent lord Sandwich. The duke of Bedford, on receiving the seals, affected to declare that he accepted them only for six months; but those who were acquainted with the discordant tempers of the two secretaries predicted that their union would not continue as many weeks; and the broils which soon arose between them, seemed to justify this prediction. But a variety of circumstances prevented a rupture until the death of the prince. The dukes of Cumberland and Newcastle had been closely united by their views for the continuance of the war, and had concurred in promoting Bedford and Sandwich, who entertained the same senti-

ments. But soon after the conclusion of the peace, Newcastle,

> Who could not bear a rival near the throne,

became jealous even of the duke of Cumberland's ascendancy in the closet; and a disagreement soon followed, which broke out into an open rupture a few months before the prince's death, on the attempt to remove lord Sandwich.

The state of this dispute is too well drawn by Mr. Fox in a letter to Sir Charles Hanbury Williams, not to be submitted to the reader in his own words: "I shall confine this letter chiefly to the only subject I must not venture by the post, the strange situation of the court here. The duke of Bedford and duke of Newcastle hate one another irreconcilably, so do lord Sandwich (who governs the former,) and the duke of Newcastle. His royal highness the duke, and the duke of Newcastle, are more declared enemies than you can imagine. His royal highness's great favour to lord Sandwich was perhaps the first, and is perhaps the chief cause of that hatred which is now a deep-rooted one. The brothers disagree as much or more than ever; but Mr. Pelham knows he can neither govern, or separate himself from his brother, and therefore seems to have given over the thoughts of prevailing in any measures that might reconcile or barely prevent a rupture.

Thus stood affairs when his majesty came from abroad. The duke of Newcastle flattered himself that his grace of Bedford would willingly quit the seals to be master of the horse, or president, and perhaps he would, if the *duke* would permit the duke of Newcastle to carry such a point. The duke of Newcastle flattered himself, with the assistance, which he certainly has, of lady Yarmouth, that he had brought his majesty to that temper, that if the duke of Bedford would not go *de bon gré*, he would force the seals from him. But in this too he was disappointed. His majesty, very wisely considering, I suppose, that nothing was more silly than for his ministry to risk so great, so sure a majority as we have, only to satisfy the peevish or personal resentment of the duke of Newcastle, took the part of shewing that whoever was the aggressor would have his majesty against him, and has postponed the giving away of all places, for fear of disputes, till at least the end of the sessions. The dukes of Newcastle, then, and Bedford, are trying which can keep their temper best and longest. The duke of Newcastle has the power, which I should think a great help*."

The king was no less desirous than the duke of Newcastle to part with lord Sandwich; but

* Mr. Fox to Sir Charles Hanbury Williams, Feb. 7-18, 1750-1. Hanbury Papers.

wished to retain the duke of Bedford, though not in the office of secretary of state, which he had destined for the earl of Holdernesse. While this scheme was agitating, Mr. Fox, from his attachment to the duke of Cumberland, advised the duke of Bedford to offer the resignation of the seals, and to accept for himself and lord Sandwich such places in the cabinet as his majesty should approve, and to which his ministry would not object; but the duke, over-ruled by the cabals of what was called the Bedford-house party, rejected the advice, and resigned the seals in disgust, at a time when the death of the prince rendered his defection of little consequence; in his audience of leave he expatiated on the duke of Newcastle's conduct in terms of the highest indignation and contempt.

The seals were given to lord Holdernesse; lord Sandwich was succeeded in the admiralty by lord Anson, the son-in-law of lord Hardwicke; lord Trentham, another of the duke's friends, was removed, and the whole Bedford party entered the lists of opposition. The post of master of the horse, which had been vacant since the death of the duke of Richmond, and was destined for the duke of Bedford, was granted to the marquis of Hartington, who was called up to the house of peers.

By the kindness of my noble friend Lord Braybroke, I am enabled to close this chapter with two extracts from the correspondence of lord Walpole with his father Mr. Neville, then private secretary to the duke of Bedford.

"Wolterton, Nov. 12, 1750.

"The treaty lately concluded with Spain, which as far as I have heard of it is a good one, *rebus sic stantibus*, but of this more when I see you. I am not at all surprised at what you say of my old friend Don Benjamin (Sir Benjamin Keene,) it is no more than what I have by experience known of him, (and of which I suppose greater men than you and I are, now, whatever they may have thought in their greener years, fully convinced) and however unable I may have been in my foreign negotiations, I have the satisfaction at last to find that those that are now avowedly the most able to serve abroad have either been educated in that business or recommended to it by me:"

"Wolterton, Aug. 19, 1749.

"Before I went to Chatsworth I troubled you with a short letter. I found there the most magnificent place in the wildest country, the roads so unpleasant and rocky as to be almost impracticable; and yet I found no manner of symptom of my complaint during my whole journey thither and back again, which makes

me conclude, that soap and lime water have absolutely cured me of the stone.

" Have you never observed, that after a great bell has done ringing yet there remains for some time a sort of a humming sound or buz in your ears? This is my case as a politician, for although I am happily retired from all business, yet I cannot forbear having some small attention to accidents that seem to affect the good of my country; and therefore I was touched with the news I observed in the public prints, that several artificers in the woollen manufacture here had sent over utensils to Spain, and were ready to embark for that country themselves to establish looms there, which if it should take place, would be a great detriment to this country. It might stop the importation of their wool hither, and by degrees cause ours to be run thither; and I don't see well how it can be prevented. My only comfort is, that our John Trots, used to freedom of speech and action here, a temperate climate and good living, will not long endure the heats and restraint and meagre diet, as well as the stiffness among the spanish dons, but will soon come back again. This was the case of the english artificers that Mr. Laws invited to France, which must be a much more agreeable country than Spain to an Englishman.

"I am afraid this scheme has been set on foot by the spanish minister, Mr. Wall, on which occasion you will give me leave to trouble you with an observation I could not forbear making, when I was told by a minister of State that this Mr. Wall, who I take to be an Irishman, was a very agreeable, clever, sensible man, and that our ministers are very fond of him. I say, I could not forbear observing, as a very unfashionable and antiquated minister, that I was very sorry he was to stay here, and that an old grave spanish grandee that could speak no language but his own would be more to our purpose."

CHAPTER 35.

1748—1751.

Conduct of Foreign Affairs—Attempts of the Cabinet to procure the Election of the Archduke Joseph to the Dignity of King of the Romans—Subsidiary Treaties with the Electors of Germany—Mr. Walpole and Mr. Pelham disapprove these Measures—Mr. Walpole's Memorial to the King.

THE conduct of foreign affairs, pursued by the cabinet during these changes, was liable to many objections, and was not only censured by the enemies, but disapproved by many friends of government, among whom Mr. Walpole is distinguished.

The great object of the british cabinet was to secure the succession of the imperial dignity in the house of Austria, by obtaining for the archduke Joseph, eldest son of Maria Theresa by the emperor Francis, the election to the title of King of the Romans. But this was an object of extreme difficulty, and attended with a profusion of expence. As a previous step, it became necessary to obtain a majority of votes, not only in the electoral college, but likewise in the diet of the empire. Hence a regular system of influence and bribery was established; the electoral votes were to be purchased by

means of subsidiary treaties, and the money of England lavished on the petty princes and states of Germany. Subsidies were offered to the electors of Mentz and Cologne; a subsidiary treaty was concluded with the elector of Bavaria, who engaged for an annual sum of 40,000*l.* paid by Great Britain and the United Provinces, to hold in readiness 6000 auxiliaries for the service of the maritime powers, but not against the emperor or empire; the elector of Saxony, Augustus III. king of Poland, was also secured by the promise of a loan of 500,000*l.* on the mortgage of certain lordships in the saxon territories.

But, notwithstanding these enormous expences, the scheme was successfully counteracted, by the opposition of the king of Prussia as elector of Brandenburgh, and the king of France as guarantee of the treaty of Westphalia, who declared the election of a minor incompatible with the laws of the empire. They had secured the elector of Treves, and detached the elector of Cologne from the party of England, and the elector Palatine had entered a strong protest against the convocation of an electoral diet.

A close connection was at this time established betwixt France and the king of Prussia, who had recently conceived new disgust against

George the Second, on account of the disputes for the succession to East Friesland. On the death of the last duke without heirs-male, Frederic instantly took possession of the duchy, as Mr. Walpole had predicted. George the Second, as duke of Brunswick Lunenburgh, remonstrated against this seizure, stated his pretensions in a memorial presented to the diet of Ratisbon, and demanded that their respective claims should be referred to the decision of the aulic council. He was warmly supported by the house of Austria. The king of Prussia presented a counter-memorial, and refusing to submit his right to any tribunal, entered a protest against the proceedings of the diet. The nugatory attempt of George the Second, to wrest from so powerful a sovereign a duchy which he then had in possession, was as impolitic as it was unsuccessful. Frederic expressed his resentment against the court of London, for their officious interference in the affairs of Germany, and, under the pretext of demanding reparation for the seizure of some prussian ships by english cruizers, discontinued the payment of the Silecian loan*. He also redoubled his efforts to counteract the election of the archduke Joseph.

* A loan advanced by some english merchants to the queen of Hungary, on some lordships in Silesia, which the king of Prussia bound himself to liquidate, when Silesia was guaranteed to him.

Notwithstanding the incessant representations of Mr. Walpole, no effectual endeavours had been made to secure the friendship of the king of Prussia; but even the very conduct pursued which he had so strongly reprobated. Instead of deputing, as embassador to Berlin, a person of high distinction, who possessed the full confidence of his sovereign, and was provided with specific instructions, much time was wasted in selecting an envoy, who was not at last entrusted with full powers. Sir Everard Fawkener was at first designated for the employment by the duke of Cumberland; but, to use Mr. Walpole's expressions, "Mr. Villiers * having gained the king of Prussia's good opinion, was the cause of his being proposed, and his having asked, and having been refused a place, was generally thought to have been the occasion of his not going. But the true reason, I believe, was, that he had consulted his friend lord Granville, who told him it was not desired that he should succeed in that commission, and consequently he could get nothing but ill-will by it; and therefore he started that demand of a place, as a condition, without any expectation of having it granted him†." At length the

* Envoy to Dresden, afterwards lord Hyde and earl of Clarendon.

† Mr. Walpole to Mr. Etough, Wolterton, Oct. 12, 1751. —Etough Papers.

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Your Excellency's
most obedient
& most humble Servant
T Robinson

SIR THOMAS ROBINSON, 1st. LORD GRANTHAM,

From a Miniature in the Poſſeſſion of the Hon.ble Miſs Robinson.

choice fell on Mr. Legge, who, though a man of great talents for business, was unfit for a foreign mission, and of a character ill-suited to the temper of that "powerful casuist, whose extraordinary dogmas were supported by 140,000, the most effectual but convincing arguments in the world*." His mission to Berlin only exposed him to the caprice and insolence of the prussian monarch.

In consequence of this rooted antipathy between the two sovereigns, Mr. Walpole foresaw the inefficiency of subsidiary treaties, and deprecated the lavish profusion of british money to secure an election which was continually defeated by the influence of Prussia. He no less warmly censured that want of conciliation which marked the conduct of the british cabinet in their transactions with France, and that impolitic antipathy which provoked her enmity, by affecting to hold her out as an enemy in every court of Europe.

Mr. Pelham was the principal person in the cabinet who coincided with the sentiments of Mr. Walpole on all these points. His conciliating and cautious temper is evident from a letter which he wrote to Sir Charles Hanbury Williams, then envoy at Dresden, on the request

* Mr. Harris to Sir Charles Hanbury Williams, March 10, 1750.—Hanbury Papers.

of that court for a loan of 500,000*l.*: "I desired Mr. Fox to send you my opinion without delay, which I dare say he did. Legge has, or will write to you upon the same subject; but I can't forbear telling you myself, why I think it both improper and impracticable. The first arises from the plan I have laid down with regard to our affairs here; if we are to borrow money for our own services, it would naturally keep down the public stocks; all the spare money would be reserved for a new subscription, and of consequence our present public annuities would go to market at a disadvantageous price. The good effects of this scheme are already seen, for the four per cents. are at par, and the three per cents. at 95. I resolved, therefore, to raise what we wanted within the year, which has cost the land another four shillings in the pound. By this you will easily perceive, that if a loan was opened for half a million, to go abroad, all the good effects of this measure would fall to the ground, under the inconvenience which would arise from so large a sum of money going out of the kingdom, when we have little enough to circulate our vast capital debt, with the other necessaries of government, which require money*."

* Mr. Pelham to Sir Charles Hanbury Williams, Feb. 28, 1748-9.—Hanbury Papers.

In the midst of the negotiations for the subsidiary treaties, the bickerings with Prussia, and the disputes relative to America and the East Indies, which threatened hostilities with France, Mr. Walpole transmitted to Mr. Pelham a memorial containing some "Considerations on the system of foreign affairs," with the hope that his arguments would influence the duke of Newcastle, and by him be submitted to the king. At length perceiving that none of the ministers could venture to represent in the closet, in terms sufficiently strong, the impolicy of this system, he communicated the paper to the king himself, through the countess of Yarmouth.

"*Observations upon the present System of Foreign Affairs**."

"When France was in the full career of glory and success, she unexpectedly concurred with England to put an end to the war, and at the same time shewed a disposition to settle their respective pretensions in the Indies in an amicable manner. It is not now necessary to enquire into the motives of this pacific inclination, any farther than to observe, that the French were under no necessity to lay down their arms,

* Endorsed in the hand-writing of Mr. Walpole, "Communicated to the countess of Yarmouth, who laid it before his majesty, November 1751."

while the allies were in the greatest distress, and in no condition to resist their victorious progress. When the general peace was concluded, and black clouds gathering in the North, seemed to portend a new storm, France offered to act in concert with England, to prevent those troubles; but England, instead of accepting this proposal, *bid France speak to her allies, and England would speak to her allies.*

"This unnecessary distinction, by declaring formally and publicly to France herself, that we could not look upon her as an ally, (although defensive alliances subsist between the two crowns, and particularly that of 1717, jointly with the States, which is renewed by the treaty of Aix, and although the French are guarantees with us, for preserving the present tranquillity,) could not be agreeable to France, especially as it has been echoed by every speech from the throne since the peace, and openly professed and pursued by our foreign measures.

"These proceedings on the part of England, founded upon a jealousy of France, must unavoidably make her jealous of England. And while we are busy and active abroad, avowedly with that view, it cannot be expected that France should be idle in opposition to it, with this difference, our measures are unfortunately of that nature that the french are in a condition

to defeat, disappoint, or despise them; but all our pains and expences, instead of procuring us new strength, tend to weaken us, and, instead of preventing new broils, tend to provoke them, and at the same time to disable us to struggle with them when they shall overtake us.

"We endeavoured to gain Denmark by subsidies: France, apprehensive of our designs to promote the troubles rising in the North, outbid and disappointed us there.

"The king, as elector, and the States, imagined they had engaged the elector of Cologne in their interest by a subsidiary treaty; the French soon found means to break that engagement. We think we have gained by subsidies, for the present, the elector of Bavaria; but are we sure that the French will not be able, by greater subsidies or other advantages, or by menaces, to detach or deter him from his obligations to us; or that he will prove more useful or faithful than his uncle, the elector of Cologne, especially if the elector Palatine, another branch of that family, who generally act together in public affairs, should not be favourable to us? *In the mean while our subsidies must be paid in time of peace;* and this we do—for what? to get the archduke elected king of the Romans.

"This must be owned to be a matter of great importance; and, in order to effect it, we have

pursued a very generous plan: the emperor will truly condescend to let England take the lead, and have the honour to be at the greatest trouble and expence to advance his own son to this high station; and shall we be able to compass this great point by our generosity? Hitherto it has not had the desired effect; *but our subsidies must continue to be paid in time of peace.*

"Cologne has shamefully left us; and having given subsidies to one elector, we must not stop here, and, although it was declared otherwise in parliament, other electors must be gained.

"The elector of Saxony presents himself next, and subsidies must be given to him: yet, can we depend upon the steadiness of that prince in time of danger, who is in so much awe of Prussia in his neighbourhood, so nearly related to France, and, 'tis said, has already sent an express to that court to justify the innocence of his intentions? And will this additional alliance make the election of the king of the Romans sure? Will the emperor, even for the sake of his own son, with the accession of this strength, hazard the election at the diet, if he apprehends an opposition from the electors of Brandenburgh, Cologne, and perhaps Palatine, joined with the weight and influence of France in the empire? I believe that is not certain; *but in the mean while our subsidies must be paid in time of peace.*

"But, supposing the election should be attempted, and our king of the Romans be chosen by a majority of voices; should the electors of Brandenburgh, Cologne and Palatine, on account of some pretended want of formality, and France, as guarantee by the treaty of Westphalia to the privileges of the germanic body, enter their protest, will this decision, attended with such circumstances, keep the powers of Europe calm, and be the means of prolonging the pacification?

"We have unnecessarily, by our public declarations and negotiations, already ranged the powers of Europe into two parties, viz. the Emperor, England, Russia, and the States-general on one side, (for I look upon the subsidiary princes, who will let out their troops, in case of a rupture, to those who will pay the most for them, of no consideration,) and France, Prussia and Sweden on the other side. And while we do things disagreeable to them, and in defiance of them as our secret enemies, we must expect that they will counteract all our measures, and, without coming to an immediate rupture, will do things disagreeable to us.

"Hence France, who shewed, upon the conclusion of the peace, a favourable disposition to compose the disputes in Tobago, St, Lucia, &c. and even in Nova Scotia, amicably by commissaries has of late started new difficulties and

chicanes, and begins to be troublesome in Africa; hence France and Prussia, as if by joint concert, affect to shew a personal disregard to the king. France sends, in the quality of embassador to Berlin, a nobleman of Irish extraction, whose family quitted their country with king James the second, and who consequently must be attached to the interest of the pretender; against which, indeed, as lord Tyrconnell is a natural born subject of France, no formal complaint could be made, though it is a symptom of no great respect to his majesty. But the french court receiving in that character from Berlin the late Lord Marshal*, whom I take to be an attainted rebel, and whom the king of France is obliged by the third article of the treaty of 1717, if required by his majesty, to send in a certain time out of his dominions, seems to me a most astonishing affront, and what the king can say, or do, nobody can tell. Should his majesty take no notice of it to France, what would the world and this nation think or say? Should he take notice of it, and not be regarded, (as, can it be expected he should be, after our having publicly declared and exempted France out of the number of our friends?) what will his majesty do, nay, what can he do? Good God!

* Lord Keith, commonly called Lord Marshal, as hereditary marshal of Scotland.

into what difficulties and dilemmas has the chimerical notion of maintaining the antient grand alliance, in opposition to our antient enemy, plunged our good king, and this poor exhausted nation, when, indeed, the grand alliance is no more, unless it can be more effectually strengthened than by giving subsidies to shuffling and precarious princes, who take our money and laugh at us?

"In the mean while, Mr. Puissieux, the pacific secretary of state in France, retires from business, and a duke of Burgundy is born. Are we sure that minister laid down his place purely on account of his health? and (that notwithstanding the declarations of France, which are usual on such occasions, even when new schemes are in agitation,) are we sure that the same system of peace, of which he was the chief author, will be pursued by his successor? And will the birth of the duke of Burgundy make France so scrupulous and cautious of a fresh rupture?

"We seem to be already *tantum non* in a war; a situation that the Imperial court, in order to keep us in a dependence upon them, always desires we should be in with respect to France. The pistol is cock'd, and, when once fired, what will be the consequence?

"Will the emperor, without money from England, put his numerous troops in motion, and,

without our great and usual subsidies, continue them in motion? Will not Russia, that distant ally, as she has already served us once, notwithstanding her obligations by treaty, refuse, if Sweden remains quiet, to march to his majesty's assistance either as king or elector, without a fresh supply of money from England? Or can the States-general, notwithstanding the present great authority of the Stadholder, find any possible means to defend their own frontier, considering the dismantled condition of their barrier in the Low Countries? And much less, be they ever so unanimous or willing, can they be able to bring an army into the field for the service of the common cause?

"Lastly: Can England maintain forces by sea and land sufficient for her own security at home, (which will always, in case of a rupture, be more or less affected) provide her contingent for foreign operations, and at the same time furnish her allies with the necessary subsidies to make their assistance useful?

"I am no military man; but, from what passed in the first campaign of the late war, I can easily imagine that France and Prussia may be able to distress the emperor, and the king as elector of Hanover, to the greatest degree, before a confederacy can be formed strong enough and time enough to resist them. And

I am persuaded that those very dominions, for whose service these unnecessary and useless negotiations and expences in time of peace are principally calculated, will be attacked the first, and what an effect that may have upon the head and heart of * * * * †, and consequently his health, at his time of life, is a most melancholy reflection.

"You will, perhaps, observe, that, in the distribution of the powers of Europe into two parties, I have taken no notice of the kings of Spain and Sardinia. As to the last, he will not strike a stroke, especially on the side of the imperial court, on account of former ill-treatment without particular advantages and subsidies from us. As to Spain, our negotiations with that crown seem to be the only wise and solid measure that has been taken since the peace; and what part she will take, and whether she will take any immediately, in case of a rupture, is, I believe, doubtful, unless we can engage his catholic majesty in a defensive alliance. But will the spanish ministers advise and promote his going so great a length with his majesty, considering how precarious his catholic majesty's life may be? and, as he has no children, who is to be his successor? I am afraid this is

† Meaning the king.

not a very clear point. For these reasons, it has been a matter of wonder that some person of rank and abilities has never been sent as minister to Naples, to cultivate an intimate friendship with that king, who is like to succeed to the crown of Spain, while other considerable powers have their embassadors, persons of great distinction, at that court. What can be the policy of our neglect and indifference towards that prince, is hard to conceive.

"But experience has shewn us how exorbitant the power of France is, and how extensive and destructive her views have been of the liberties of Europe, and particularly of the interest and constitution of this nation. Therefore it may be urged, can that power be considered in any other light than that of a secret and inveterate enemy; and, consequently, should we not, in time of peace, have that danger uppermost in our minds and motions, and for that purpose pursue such measures as may put us in a condition to obviate any pernicious schemes meditated against us on the part of that formidable power, and to disappoint and resist them in case they should be put in execution? This is a very plausible, popular, and indeed a true notion, to a certain degree; but, considering the formidable power and neighbourhood of France, would it not have been prudent to have dissembled our

jealousy of her evil intentions, at a time that she shewed not the least disposition to exert them, and while the french administration (whether on account of his most christian majesty's pacific temper, or of the person that may have the greatest influence and credit with him, or for the sake of maintaining their power procured by the late peace,) appeared desirous to preserve it, and even in concert with England? Was it prudent to decline the acceptance of such a proposal, and to let France and all the world know that we could not consider her as an ally, and to take openly steps in consequence of such a declaration as plainly indicate our jealousy, and must naturally provoke her to disappoint, if she pleases, all our precautions?

"But allowing this to have been a prudent and reasonable way of acting, should not our preventive* and defensive measures be substantial, and of such a nature as by the solidity and strength to answer those good ends? And can our giving subsidies to german princes in time of peace be considered as such? They will take our money for the present; but in a time of exigency, when we shall want their troops,

* This passage explains, in a few words, the preventive system of Sir Robert Walpole, by which he maintained the country so long in peace, and which the half measures of the succeeding administration, as well as the experience of posterity, have fully justified.

they will be governed, notwithstanding our subsidies, by their fears or hopes, in letting them to us, or to any other power. Meanwhile, before new troubles arise, if France will not take the pains to disappoint and defeat these measures, she will smile at their weakness, and, instead of being kept in awe, will be pleased to see us fling away so much money, in a time of profound peace, to no purpose, which we shall want in time of war.

"I am no enemy to the former grand alliances; I am sensible they saved Europe and this country: nor am I such an abettor of the pacific inclinations, or the fidelity of France to her engagements, as to depend upon them. Neither would I desert or disoblige those powers who joined so zealously and usefully with us in those grand alliances for the support of the common cause. But the misfortune is, that the powers who composed those alliances are so reduced and exhausted as to be incapable of making the same vigorous efforts against France, now as formidable as ever; unless we can not only separate Spain from a servile dependance upon that crown, which I hope is in a manner effectually done*, but also engage in our inte-

* In this instance Mr. Walpole pays a due tribute of approbation to the conduct of the ministry, who, by prudent measures, conciliated the king of Spain, and detached him from France.

rest the supplemental and additional assistance of some new real power, whose natural inclination and interest might lead him, and whose situation and strength would enable him to join in maintaining the balance of Europe; and this power can be no other than the king of Prussia. But, far from shewing the least disposition to gain the friendship of that prince, we have pointed him out, by all our negotiations, as a determined partisan of France, and as a more obnoxious and dangerous enemy to us; and consequently done all we can to disoblige him, and fix him in the interest of that crown, as necessary for his own security and defence against the manifest ill-will of the emperor and his majesty. And can it be imagined, that our giving subsidies, in time of peace, to german princes, which are plainly calculated for the security of Lower Saxony, preferably to that of any other country, and more with a view to keep Prussia than France in awe, will in any degree counterpoise our flinging so considerable a power as Prussia now is, into the scale against us? All that may be said of that prince's strong aversion and ill-will towards his majesty is very glaring and evident, and his behaviour is not to be justified. But doubtless his prussian majesty is no less fully convinced that the king and his principal ally have an

equal aversion to him, and that their plans and measures are levelled to vex and distress him. Therefore, as long as those mutual animosities subsist, it must be expected that he will keep strongly united with that power that is best able to defend him, and annoy his enemies; and the short question is, whether he is not, and will not ever be, while united to France, in a stronger situation to shew his resentment against the king, than his majesty can possibly be, *by subsidies granted in time of peace to german princes,* to resent the behaviour of the king of Prussia, and even, with the assistance of all his allies, to resist the joint forces of France and Prussia?

"But, to conclude these unpleasant speculations, it is plain that the king of Prussia at present holds in his hands the balance of Europe. We may be sorry for it, but we cannot help it; so it is, and so it is like to be. And were it possible to overcome the inveterate animosity and rancour, and by degrees procure and cement an intimate friendship and alliance between his majesty and that prince, which I am afraid we have never yet seriously attempted or desired, it would be a stronger bulwark against any formidable and ambitious power, for securing the liberties of Europe, upon which ours depend, than was ever framed by any former grand

alliance for that purpose, and his majesty would have nothing to fear. But, should his prussian majesty be entirely riveted in the interest of France, the king will never be easy; there is nothing that his majesty will not have reason to fear, both as king and elector; but more immediately for his electoral dominions.

"But, if the present system for preserving the peace of Europe, and for our own defence in case of a rupture, is not right, what better plan might have been pursued, I think it is not difficult to collect from the foregoing deduction.

"After having obtained, so unexpectedly, so honourable and seasonable a peace, considering our circumstances at that time, (which must always be the measure of a good or bad peace,) we should have kept ourselves calm and quiet; shewn a disposition to live amicably with all our neighbours; looked into our own affairs, and the situation of them; have, in pursuance of that noble and successful scheme for reducing the interest of the public debts, endeavoured to increase the sinking fund, by bringing the expences for the current service of the year in as narrow a compass as possible, consistent with a sufficient force by sea and land for our home-security against any surprise, and by this means made a gradual reduction of the great and almost unsupportable load of the national debt.

We should have continued our antient intimacy and friendship with our old allies, have been attentive to the views and motions of other foreign powers, (which can never be indifferent to us,) and as any of them might directly or consequentially affect the safety of our government, or tend to disturb the general tranquillity, taken our measures accordingly, as the exigency of affairs might require. We should have carefully avoided (considering our circumstances,) doing any thing previously, that might fret, alarm, and provoke our neighbours, as jealous of them, while they had given us, by their behaviour, no cause of jealousy, but have readily concurred with all those that were willing to co-operate with us to maintain the general tranquillity. And, in order to supply the want of those resources and efforts, which we and the States formerly exerted in defence of the common cause, and in which we are now extremely defective, especially the Dutch, we should have endeavoured to cultivate a good understanding with such potentates, whose interest and situation might naturally lead them to an union and friendship with us, and whose real strength might be of service in time of danger.

"This general sketch points out the wisdom of taking no step that might be offensive to France; and at the same time, for the sake of

commerce, and of preserving peace in the southern parts, to have not only renewed and improved our antient amity with Spain, but have endeavoured to settle a good understanding with the king of Naples, the heir apparent of that crown. And we should have been no less assiduous, for the sake of preserving peace on the continent nearer to us, in leaving no means untried to settle the strictest alliance with the king of Prussia. Having secured these princes in our interest, France, I own, would not be pleased with the success of these negotiations; but, (deprived of her former influence over Spain,) would scarce have ventured to disoblige the king, fortified, both in the northern and southern parts, with such powerful friends.

"A foundation being thus laid, of real strength, instead of that rope of sand *by subsidiary treaties in time of peace to german princes*, it would not have been, I should think, a very difficult matter, by laying hold of proper opportunities, managed with suitable prudence, for the imperial court, in concert with his majesty and the king of Prussia, to have got the archduke chosen king of the Romans, (which is certainly a matter of great moment,) without lavishing away the money of Great Britain idly, in a manner that will rather obstruct and retard than promote that great view.

"But, if we could afford to be at any extraordinary expence *in time of peace*, to prevent or withstand future troubles, surely there is an object that more directly regards the interest and security of this nation, that is very obvious: I mean the dismantled and exposed condition of the barrier in the Low Countries, which the armies of France may take, and pass through to the frontier towns of Holland, in a few days or weeks, without the least opposition or resistance.

"The important consideration of repairing those fortresses should, upon the conclusion of the peace, have immediately employed the attention of the States, whose safety is first concerned, and in concert with the emperor, who is proprietor of those valuable dominions. And, in case they were not sufficiently able to compass that great work, and had applied to his majesty for his concurrence and assistance, I do not say it would have been a reasonable demand, or that the parliament would have willingly acceded; but sure I am, that they would more readily have granted a supply for so good and salutary an end, (which is indeed a common cause,) than *give subsidies to german princes in time of peace;* which can be no present advantage, and of which the future benefit, if it can be any, must be very uncertain and precarious.

Fifty thousand pounds, furnished on our part, with a proportional contingent on the part of the emperor and the States, for four or six years, to put the barrier in a state of defence, would have been a real bulwark and security against France, should she renew her former dangerous views and attempts upon the Low Countries, which she may now subdue whenever she pleases. Consequently, I am afraid, the liberties of Europe would be at her mercy; and what would be the state of this government and country afterwards, our enemies will see and feel with pleasure."

Had we not been previously acquainted with the boldness and freedom of Mr. Walpole in delivering his sentiments, we should be surprised that a subject could venture to lay before a sovereign, of such an irritable temper as George the Second, a memorial which so strongly militated against his prejudices, sentiments, and wishes.

CHAPTER 36.

1751—1753.

Speech of Mr. Walpole on the Grant of a Subsidy to the Elector of Bavaria—Letter from Mr. Pitt—Conduct of Mr. Walpole on the Marriage Act—Letter from Archbishop Herring.

THE effect of Mr. Walpole's sensible and manly memorial, on the king, I have not been able to ascertain from any document among the Walpole papers, or from any tradition in the family. It certainly did not influence the conduct of foreign transactions, as the same blind attachment to the house of Austria still continued to direct the counsels of England, and the same unwillingness to conciliate the king of Prussia still subsisted.

Notwithstanding the arguments of Mr. Walpole against lavishing the treasures of England on german princes in time of peace, for the sake of securing an election, which could not finally be obtained without the concurrence of Prussia, sums of money were granted to the electors of Saxony and Palatine, under different pretences.

The conclusion of the subsidiary treaty with Saxony for 32,000*l.*, impressed Mr. Pelham with the deepest regret; as it seemed to be a viola-

tion of his solemn promise in the house of commons, on the debate relative to the subsidy for the elector of Bavaria, that no farther subsidies would be wanted for securing the election of king of the Romans. He accordingly strongly remonstrated in the cabinet, almost came to a rupture with his brother, and even expressed to Mr. Walpole a determinedre solution of seconding his opposition to the measure in the house of commons*. But, before the business was discussed, the mediation of friends, and their just representations that an open separation from his brother would ruin their party, prevailed over his resentment.

Mr. Walpole, aware of this change in the sentiments of his friend, was unwilling to embark in a fruitless opposition, yet scorned to conceal his sentiments: he adopted the same conduct which he had pursued on the grant of 100,000*l.* to the queen of Hungary, and strongly reprobated the measure, while he gave his vote for the subsidy. I am happy to lay this original speech before the reader, as it has never been given, or even mentioned, in any historical publication.

On the 22d of January, Mr. Pelham moved the house to grant the subsidy to the elector

* Etough's Minutes of Interesting Conversations with Lord Walpole of Wolterton.

of Saxony, and supported his motion with his usual ability.

Mr. Walpole, in reply, began by observing, "That his honourable friend, who made the motion, had endeavoured to explain away his former declaration, on the debate for the bavarian treaty, that no more subsidies would be wanted for securing the election of a king of the Romans. As he then voted for the question under that impression, Mr. Walpole begged leave to remind the house of that declaration; and though personal motives, and compassion for the elector of Bavaria, might have induced some members to vote in favour of the motion, yet the greatest and principal inducement was a full persuasion, that as it was a dangerous and unprecedented measure to grant subsidies to foreign powers in time of peace, and as it was the first, so it would be the last of this nature." "This, I say," he continued, "was the general persuasion; it was so intimated by persons of weight; and others, that spoke for the question, declared, that the door should be shut for the future against such an attempt. I am, therefore, surprised and concerned to find that another subsidy is demanded for another elector, and that his demand is founded upon some words in the speech from the throne last year. For we are told in the speech of this session,

that the king, when he acquainted us last year with the treaty made with the elector of Bavaria, also let us know he was taking such measures as would tend to secure the tranquillity of the empire, and support its system."

He then scrutinised the several articles of the treaty, and urged, that the subsidy was granted to the king of Poland, elector of Saxony, for doing what he would otherwise perform without the subsidy, and for pursuing a line of conduct which his interests and inclinations would naturally lead him to adopt. "He was paid," he said, "for not promising to bear arms against the maritime powers, who had never given him the least provocation, and against whom he had never discovered any marks of dissatisfaction. He was paid, likewise, for making the same stipulation with regard to Austria and Russia; powers to whom he had the greatest obligations, with whom his own interest was closely connected; who conferred on him the crown of Poland, and to whose assistance he must be indebted for rendering the throne hereditary in his family. By another article he bound himself to send succours, stipulated by former engagements, to the assistance of Austria and Russia, should they be attacked; an extraordinary and absurd condition, to pay a prince for the performance of his former engagements with other powers!

He deemed the article no less unreasonable which stipulated that the king of Poland should furnish a body of 6000 men, or more, should the king of England or the States be attacked; for the money was to be annually and punctually paid for a *certain* period of years, while the performance of the condition was precarious, from the *uncertainty* of the time when it would be demanded; and whether, from the ever-shifting interests of the german courts, it would be complied with when demanded.

"Admitting," he said, "that the exigency of affairs may render it necessary to hire foreign troops, it is needless to grant large subsidies for a term of years, in time of profound peace, when no danger threatens; while they can be hired in a few months, before an approaching rupture, which can easily be foreseen; for the storm does not suddenly burst, without the gathering of the clouds. If we then bid as much or more than other powers, we shall get those troops; but if other powers offer more than we, they will get them, notwithstanding our profusion. Hence, if any part of the subsidy is granted for a term of years, it is unnecessarily wasted; it is *emere spem pretio*, it is giving real money for uncertain expectations, not well to be afforded in our present circumstances."

With regard to the principal and important object of the treaty, to secure the election of the archduke, which he allowed to be an object of great importance to the tranquillity of Europe, and the interests of England, he argued that the success was rather retarded than promoted by the grant of subsidies.

He then proved, by an historical deduction, the failure of all attempts to wrest the imperial crown entirely from the house of Austria, which was acknowledged to be the only power in the empire capable of supporting that dignity, and preserving the germanic constitution. Nor would the temporary exclusion of that house have taken place, even on the extinction of the male line, had not the emperor, Charles the Sixth, refused to obtain the nomination of his son-in-law, Francis the First, under the chimerical hope of having male heirs by a future marriage; but, dying unexpectedly, his succession, which he had endeavoured to secure to Maria-Theresa, by the pragmatic sanction, was claimed by numerous pretenders, abetted by the whole power of France.

"The electors, conceiving her ruin to be unavoidable, and eager to share the spoils, raised the elector of Bavaria to the imperial throne. And what was the consequence," he emphatically demanded, "of this precipitate measure?

Why, in two years, they heartily repented of this rash proceeding; they soon found that their new chief was absolutely, not only in all military counsels and operations, but in all transactions at the diet of Frankfort, under the immediate influence and direction of France, and, instead of being an emperor of Germany, was a slave to that crown; and they could not but conclude that it must be the same in time of peace, and, consequently, the constitution of Germany would be undone. In short, being convinced that no other german prince, but one of the house of Austria, could be endued with sufficient power and authority to support the dignity of the imperial crown, and preserve the system of the empire, they immediately, upon the death of the bavarian emperor, without intrigues or subsidies, even at a time when the king of Prussia was not reconciled to the queen of Hungary, and France was victorious against her and her allies, conferred the imperial crown on the duke of Lorrain. And why? Not on account of any personal regard to him, who was in a manner a foreigner; but as being the only means to restore and perpetuate that dignity in the house of Austria, as absolutely necessary for their own safety, and to preserve the constitution of the empire. This choice was a plain indication, and, indeed, virtually a determina-

tion of their intentions in favour of the archduke to be king of the Romans; and consequently there could be no manner of apprehension that they could, by any influence or intrigue, be diverted from pursuing, in a proper time, an object so necessary and salutary to themselves. They have no other choice, without seeking, with their eyes open, their own ruin. Their interest and inclination must lead them to it; and, if they had been let alone, there seemed to be no reason to fear but that whenever the court of Vienna should be disposed to put it in motion, that election, in this time of peace, could not fail of success. France would scarce have gone into a war on that account, nor would the king of Prussia have interfered to retard it, unless it was to be carried with a high hand, and avowedly in open defiance of him. There seems, therefore, to have been some *arcana imperii* in this affair; not, I dare say, of any bad intent, but perhaps of such a nature as, on account of the intelligence, might not be proper to explain.

"I will therefore suppose that the court of Vienna had made, and communicated in confidence to ours, some discovery, that, notwithstanding the present seeming tranquillity and calmness, a certain great power* had secretly set on foot intrigues in Germany to embarrass

* France.

and retard the choice of a king of the Romans, and that a sum of money was necessary to obviate and disappoint the effects of them. that the queen of Hungary was using her endeavours to put her finances in a better condition, but at present, having no money to spare, desired his majesty would (considering the advantage that had accrued by the reduction of the national debt,) advance a certain sum on this urgent occasion. These, or some such instances as these, must, I imagine, have been the motive for this extraordinary demand of a subsidy for the elector of Saxony; for I can never believe, or suspect, that we have ourselves officiously, without such a request from the queen of Hungary, (who is so immediately concerned, in a point of such consequence to the honour and interest of her own son and family,) called upon her first, to set on foot the election of the archduke to be king of the Romans, and not leave a matter of such importance open and exposed to the hazard of future events; letting her know, that, if a sum of money was wanting for so great an object, we were ready to give it; that she had purely, from our application, graciously condescended to accept such a friendly offer, intimating, that although she had no reason to suspect the inclination of the electors in favour of her son the archduke, yet a subsidy might

be very welcome to some of them in their present circumstances. I say it is impossible to surmise that we should, of our own voluntary motion, have made this generous but unaccountable offer, considering the state of our finances. I must therefore suppose that we have been earnestly pressed, by the court of Vienna, to come into these subsidiary treaties, as absolutely necessary to preserve the peace of Europe, and the constitution of the empire, in which we are so essentially concerned.

" He had no objection," he said, " to stipulate the payment of a certain sum for a limited period; but strongly objected to annual subsidies, during a term of years, for a distant and uncertain event. He complained that the treaty was loosely worded, and contained some stipulations which did not appear in the bavarian treaty; such as, that the ministers of Hanover and Saxony should act in conformity, and in consequence of the fundamental laws and constitution of the empire, which might afford a pretence to the elector of Saxony not to fulfil his engagements, should the king of Prussia declare that the method of proceeding was not agreeable to the constitution of the empire.

" These subsidies were granted principally with a view to secure the election; but, supposing that the election should not take place

before the expiration of the term for which it was made, are these treaties to be renewed, or prolonged? Where and how will this unprecedented method of proceeding end?" He next adverted to his favourite notion of promoting an alliance with Prussia. After lamenting the want of a better intelligence between the two sovereigns, he approved the plan of cementing a friendship with the czarina; because, her interest being united with ours, and our alliance as much desired by her as her's by us, we should have no occasion to grant subsidies to her.

"But there is a consideration," he continued, "of great consequence, which affects me in a most sensible manner. His majesty, on account of the happiness we have enjoyed so many years under his most gracious and auspicious reign, making the laws of the land the rule of all his actions; and particularly by the wise provision of a regency, of which he himself was the author, and by which he not only shewed a fatherly concern, that the children of his own royal family, but that of his people also, whom he considered as his children, should, during a minority, still continue, as far as possible, happy under the same mild government. I say, his majesty, by these signal marks of his goodness, has engaged the affection of all his loyal subjects: I repeat loyal, for I am afraid, if an occa-

sion should offer, there would be too many found not to be so loyal as I could wish; he is at present in a higher point of popularity and glory than any of his royal predecessors ever attained.

" He has, indeed, lately undergone some shocks in his own family: the imminent danger of the duke of Cumberland's life*, which I look upon, next to his majesty's, during a minority, as the greatest bulwark to our present and future security, affected him, as it did all that wish well to this government, with the utmost agony and concern. His majesty had scarce, by the recovery of his royal highness, overcome that blow, when the melancholy event of the death of his daughter, the queen of Denmark, overtook him; a princess of the most amiable and truly royal accomplishments, derived to her by her birth, and improved by the example and education of that incomparable and ever to be lamented queen, her royal mother, whom she resembled, and whose resemblance increased the affliction.

" These are inevitable strokes of Providence, which his majesty's reason and greatness of soul must and have got the better of, fortified with the healing and comfortable satisfaction

* The duke of Cumberland was dangerously hurt by a fall from his horse.

of reigning in the hearts of his faithful subjects. But should any measures be pursued that may be thought grievous, and inconsistent with their interests; should they apprehend that, under the present great load of taxes and debts, the public money is annually doled out to serve purposes foreign to their real concern and welfare; should their minds by degrees be alienated, and the mutual harmony flowing from royal protection on one side, and a cheerful obedience on the other, be interrupted; and the people, in whose love his majesty has placed his own happiness and glory, grow discontented and uneasy, that uneasiness might make a deep and heavy impression on his majesty's mind, which at an age so far advanced might prove of fatal consequences to us all.

"These are, Mr. Charlton, the motives that have induced me to give the committee so much trouble on this occasion, in order to check a system that seems so unnecessary; and may, if carried farther, create discontents and clamour against his majesty's government and administration. I do not in the least mean to stir up an opposition, or to lay the foundation of one, until opposition is grounded upon more generous and public-spirited principles and views than I have hitherto seen it. I detest and abhor it, for I shall continue still to vote in support of the

present administration; nay I shall vote for the present question, notwithstanding all I have said against it: and, for this reason, because the treaty is signed, the treaty is ratified, and should we give a negative to it, or take a step to disappoint the performance of it, it would affect his majesty's honour, and lessen the influence and respect which his majesty has so justly obtained abroad, and which is so necessary for the public good. I shall continue to act on the same principles, in support of this family and our happy constitution, as I have invariably done for so many years. I shall act in concert with that body of gentlemen who are without doors called the old corps; a body of men, who with scarce any other bias or encouragement than that of voting agreeably to their own sentiments, have never swerved from pursuing an uniform conduct for the preservation of the present establishment. And if I may be so vain as to suppose that I have influence or weight with them, I must intreat and exhort them to join with me, notwithstanding what I may have said to the disadvantage of this measure, in acquiescing this time in it, with a persuasion that the door will not only be shut, but barred and barricaded for the future against the dangerous system of

granting subsidies to foreign powers in time of profound tranquillity.

"Mr. Charlton, I beg pardon for having troubled the committee so long; but I hope it will make some amends to let them know it will be the last time I shall do it upon matters of state, particularly with regard to foreign affairs. They are now conducted and carried to a height far beyond my reach and comprehension, which I am ready to attribute to my own weakness and want of understanding, on account of my advanced age; and therefore I shall limit my attention and concern, in this house, for the future, to those low trifles that relate to wool, the woollen manufacture, and the improvement of our trade. With respect to more weighty and arduous affairs, I shall follow the advice of my namesake Horace:

Solve senescentem mature sanus equum, ne
Peccet ad extremum ridendus et ilia ducat."

This speech was heard with profound silence and attention. Mr Pitt, although he had warmly defended the bavarian treaty, coincided with Mr. Walpole in disapproving the new subsidiary treaties, was much struck with this effusion, and requested him to consign it to writing, Mr. Walpole complied with his request; and Mr. Pitt acknowledged, in the most flattering

terms, the high satisfaction which he derived from the perusal.

"Dear Sir, I return you the packet you was so good to send me, together with a thousand thanks for the favour, your speech contains such very weighty matter; and from beginning to end, breathes the spirit of a man who loves his country. If your endeavours contribute to the honest end you aim at, namely, to check foreign expences, and prevent entanglements abroad, under a situation burdened and exhausted at present, and liable to many alarming apprehensions in futurity, you deserve the thanks of this generation, and will have those of the next. I am, with very great regard, dear sir, Your most obedient, and most humble servant,

W. Pitt."

Mr. Walpole seems to have adhered to the resolution with which he concluded this speech, never again to deliver his sentiments in parliament on the conduct of foreign affairs; for from this period I perceive no traces of his parliamentary interference, either in the periodical publications of the times, or among his own papers, excepting his exertions relative to trade and manufactures, which he never intermitted. He likewise fulfilled his parliamentary duties, in regard to every regulation which concerned the domestic interests of his country, and was

particularly zealous in support of the marriage bill; in the progress of which he seems to have objected to the prerogative enjoyed by the archbishop of Canterbury, of granting special licences. On this subject I find, among his papers, an interesting letter from the venerable prelate, archbishop Herring, who then filled that see.

" DEAR SIR, Lambeth House, May 17, 1753.

" If the following letter be considered as wrote to a senator, I am sensible it were impertinent, if not presumptuous; if as to a friend, it will plead a title to his indulgence.

" I heard a little of the debate in the house of commons on Monday last, and have conceived hopes, from the issue of it, that the bill against clandestine marriages will return to the lords, and receive the confirmation of the legislature. There is one clause in it, reserving a part of the archbishop of Canterbury's prerogative, as to granting special licences, which it seems was natural to think would give room for observation; and indeed very justly, as the power there reserved, if not lodged in safe hands, might, in a great measure, defeat the good effect of the whole bill: I was told that you was pleased to make that observation, and to enlarge upon the mischievous consequences just now suggested.

"By the favour of the king I am now entrusted with the execution of that power; and if I found it detrimental to the public, or at all likely to interfere with the good designs of this act, should be ashamed to appear as an advocate for its continuance.

"The design of the legislature, in leaving such a power in being, is very apparent by the constant use and application of it; and I suppose, as it was judged proper to preserve it, it was thought it could no where be so safely lodged as in the hands of one whose high station and character must put him above all corruption, and who received no emolument to himself from the issuing of those licences. Practice has confirmed the wisdom of that parliament in this respect; and I question, whether the registers of the office afford a single instance of a mischievous and corrupt abuse of this power, in the hands of the archbishops, since the Reformation. I am told they do not.

"You know me very well, sir, and how little my nature carries me to aim at high powers and prerogatives; and yet when I find them vested in my character, never abused by my predecessors, nor by myself, it would not, perhaps, sit so easy upon me, to find myself divested of them without some very great and important reason; much greater, and more important, than

a possibility (for probability there is none from past times,) that the powers may come to be abused. I think it would not shew much loftiness of spirit to be a little anxious to guard against such indignity, which would be the more apparent too, if, to obviate the mischief of clandestine marriages, it should be found necessary, in the same act, to put a stop to the scandalous practices at May Fair and the Fleet, and guard against the corruptions of the archbishop of Canterbury's prerogative. It would naturally hurt an archbishop to see his court classed with such infamous company.

" I take the liberty, sir, to suggest these few things to you in the character of a friend. Senators must be above all partialities; and yet, as the world goes, and always has gone, there are a thousand circumstances in the conduct of public affairs, which will admit of great indulgences in point of time, and a manner of doing what is right. She might deserve to be taken down; but it was a mortification to the poor bird in the fable, that the arrow which wounded her was fledged from her own wing. There are times, indeed, when friendship becomes criminal by its influence: but those are times of deep moment; in the common affairs of life, there is great room for her operation.

" I am afraid, dear sir, you will think me much too serious in this matter: but I write only to yourself, and if you think it will be impossible, as a good patriot, to acquiesce in this power being left vested in the see of Canterbury, I shall applaud your integrity, but shall not help wishing that the blow had come from some other hand; and shall look upon it as an infelicity, that this diminution of the honour of the see should happen when I was possessed of it, and without any instances of corruption proved, or that I can hear, alledged, either in the times of my predecessors or my own."

CHAPTER 37.

1754.

Coolness between Mr. Walpole and Mr. Pelham—Death of Mr. Pelham—Consequences of that Event—Cabals for the Management of the House of Commons—Rise and Character of Mr. Pitt—Contests with Mr. Fox—Arrangement of the new Administration—Sir Thomas Robinson Secretary of State—Opposed by Pitt and Fox—Resigns, and is succeeded by Mr. Fox—Dismission of Mr. Pitt.

THE intimate friendship which had long subsisted between Mr. Walpole and Mr. Pelham, and had been cemented by a coincidence of opinion, seems to have been interrupted on this occasion; a misfortune which they both pathetically lamented. Mr. Pelham had always considered Mr. Walpole as his master in state affairs, and derived great advantage from his diplomatic knowledge and political foresight: he uniformly approved his sentiments on the conduct of foreign affairs, and was no less an enemy to the useless subsidiary treaties for the choice of a king of the Romans. But, to use the expression of a person* who knew him well, "he was always drawn, and generally dragged,

* Mr. Fox, in a letter to Sir Charles Hanbury Williams.

by the duke of Newcastle, and, though constantly disagreeing with his brother, yet, from his love of peace, and his aversion to disunite the Whig party, he finally yielded, and continued to support his projects."

Mr. Walpole highly appreciated the candour and integrity of the minister; and though their close political connection was suspended, yet he always spoke of him in terms of respect and affection, and no one more sincerely lamented his death, which happened in March 1754.

This event was a great loss to his country and to his party. England being on the eve of a war with France, great exertions were necessary, and unanimity requisite to enforce those exertions, and to excite spirit and zeal among all orders of men in the kingdom. His loss to his party was almost irreparable; his integrity was universally acknowledged, his complacent temper and conciliating manners had cemented the discordant parts of his heterogeneous administration; his preponderating influence in the house of commons repressed those ambitious spirits who aspired to the supreme direction of affairs, and his death opened a new scene of competition, which distracted the counsels of the cabinet.

Mr. Pelham was succeeded in the treasury by his brother the duke of Newcastle, who, though

a nobleman of high honour, unblemished integrity, and considerable abilities, yet was of too jealous and unstable a temper to manage the house of commons with equal address and suavity, and to guide the reins of government, without a coadjutor, at so arduous a conjuncture. The seals of chancellor of the exchequer and of secretary of state, vacant by the death of Mr. Pelham and the promotion of the duke of Newcastle, became the objects of contention. The persons, who now aspired to the management of the house of commons, were Mr. Fox and Mr. Pitt, whose parliamentary abilities had for some time divided the suffrages of the nation; who had long fostered reciprocal jealousy, and who now became public rivals for power. Both these rival statesmen were younger brothers, nearly of the same age; both were educated at Eton, both distinguished for classical knowledge, both commenced their parliamentary career at the same period*, and both raised themselves to eminence by their superior talents; yet no two characters were ever more contrasted.

Mr. Fox inherited a strong and vigorous constitution, was profuse and dissipated in his

* Mr. Fox was born in 1705, and came into parliament in 1735.

Mr. Pitt was born in 1708, and came into parliament in 1736.

youth, and, after squandering his private patrimony, went abroad to extricate himself from his embarrassments. On his return he obtained a seat in parliament, and warmly attached himself to Sir Robert Walpole, whom he idolised, and to whose patronage he was indebted for the place of surveyor-general of the board of works. In 1743 he was appointed one of the lords of the treasury, and in 1746 secretary at war, which office he now filled. His marriage, in 1744, with lady Caroline Lennox, daughter of the duke of Richmond, though at first displeasing to the family, yet finally strengthened his political connections. He was equally a man of pleasure and business, formed for social and convivial intercourse; of an unruffled temper and frank disposition. No statesman acquired more adherents, not merely from political motives, but swayed by his agreeable manners, and attached to him from personal friendship, which he fully merited by his zeal in promoting their interests. He is justly characterised, even by lord Chesterfield, "as having no fixed principles of religion or morality, and as too unwary in ridiculing and exposing them." As a parliamentary orator, he was occasionally hesitating and perplexed; but, when warmed with his subject, he spoke with an animation and rapidity which appeared more striking from his

former hesitation. His speeches were not crowded with flowers of rhetoric, or distinguished by brilliancy of diction; but were replete with sterling sense and sound argument. He was quick in reply, keen in repartee, and skilful in discerning the temper of the house. He wrote without effort or affectation; his public dispatches were manly and perspicuous, and his private letters easy and animated. Though of an ambitious spirit, he regarded money as a principal object, and power only as a secondary concern.

Mr. Pitt, at an early period of his life, suffered extremely from the attacks of an hereditary gout*; hence, though fond of active diversions, and attached to the sports of the field, he employed the leisure of frequent confinement in improving the advantages of his education, and in laying the foundation of extensive and useful knowledge, which he increased during his travels by an assiduous attention to foreign history and foreign manners. He is generally represented as of a haughty, unbending and imperious temper, and too proudly conscious of his own superior talents; but they who thus

* Some writers have erroneously represented Mr. Pitt as of a weak and sickly frame; but his constitution was naturally vigorous, till his health was weakened by repeated attacks of the gout.

characterise him, are ill acquainted with his real disposition. The repeated attacks of a painful disorder did not sour his temper, but rendered him more susceptible of the comforts of domestic, and the pleasures of social life. He was an agreeable and lively companion, possessed great versatility of wit, adapted to all characters and all occasions; excelled in epigrammatic turns, and light pieces of poetry, and even condescended to join in songs of mirth and festivity.

On his return to England, he obtained a cornetcy of horse, which, with a small annuity from his family, was his only provision until he received a legacy of 10,000l. from the duchess of Marlborough. From family connections, and early habits, he formed strict intimacy with his school-fellows, Mr. Lyttleton and the Grenvilles; attached himself to lord Cobham, and became a partisan of Leicester-house. In 1736, he came into parliament for the borough of Old Sarum, and instantly commenced his opposition to the administration of Sir Robert Walpole, His bitter invectives drew on him the resentment of the minister, and he was deprived of his cornetcy; but was recompensed by his own party with the appointment of groom of the bed-chamber to the prince of Wales. He continued in opposition until the arrangement of

the Broad Bottom ministry, when all the friends of lord Cobham were gratified with places, except Mr. Pitt, who received the promise of some future employment when the king's antipathy could be removed. The attempt to introduce him into the office of secretary at war occasioned the temporary resignation of the Pelhams, which terminating in their re-establishment, Mr. Pitt was successively promoted to the posts of vice-treasurer of Ireland and paymaster of the forces.

It is difficult to describe the precise characteristics of his parliamentary eloquence; his speeches were not so remarkable for methodical arrangement and logical precision, as for boldness of language, grandeur of sentiment, and the graces of metaphorical and classical allusion. They were not, however, distinguished by a continued glow of animated language, but illuminated with sudden flashes of wit and eloquence, which have been compared to the transient and dazzling splendour of lightning. "His invectives," to use the words of a contemporary statesman, "were terrible, and uttered with such energy of diction, and stern dignity of action and countenance, that he intimidated those who were the most willing and the best able to encounter him. Their arms fell out of

their hands, and they shrunk under the ascendant of his sublime genius*."

Among his eminent qualifications as an orator, that of turning his vindication into an attack, and from the defender becoming the accuser, was not the least conspicuous. Another excellence, not generally attributed to him, he

* Lord Chesterfield's character of Mr. Pitt. The character and genius of Mr. Pitt's oratory are likewise well defined by a contemporary prelate, who frequently heard him in both houses, and compared him to Pericles, "who lightened, thundered, and confounded Greece."

"Mr. Pitt possessed extraordinary powers; quick conceptions, a ready elocution, great command of language, a melodious voice, a speaking countenance, an authoritative air and manner, and was as great an actor as an orator. During his successful administration, he had the most absolute and uncontrouled sway ever enjoyed by any minister in the house of commons. With all these excellencies he was not without his defects. His language was sometimes too figurative and pompous; his speeches seldom well connected, often desultory, and rambling from one thing to another; so that though you were struck here and there with noble sentiments and happy expressions, yet you could not well remember and give a clear account of the whole together. With affected modesty, he was apt to be rather too confident in debate, sometimes descended to personal invectives, and would first commend that he might afterwards more effectually abuse; would ever have the last word, and, right or wrong, still preserve (to use his own phrase) an unembarrassed countenance. He spoke more to your passions, than to your reason; more to those below the bar, and above the throne, than to the house itself; and when that kind of audience was excluded, he lost much of his weight and authority."—Bishop Newton's Life.

also displayed in an eminent degree: the art of explaining what he had uttered with too much warmth, and of soothing the person whom he wished to conciliate *.

* A striking instance of this fascinating quality is recorded in lord Hardwicke's Parliamentary Journal, on the debate for the grant of an additional subsidy to the empress queen, which revived the old clamour about the hanoverian troops:

"Those who talked the same language with lord Doneraile, were, Sir G. Oxenden, Sir John Rushout, and Dr. Lee; the latter called this measure the fruit of a new alliance, which he insinuated would be of no long duration. Mr. Pitt said, it was a meritorious and popular measure, which did honour to the minister who advised it, and the prince who so graciously vouchsafed to follow it, and must give pleasure to every honest heart. As to what had been thrown out, that the queen might take them into her pay when they were dismissed from ours, he did not like the queen the less for that; he supposed she was at liberty to take or refuse them. God forbid they should be forced upon her on the one hand, or on the other, that those unfortunate troops should, by our votes, be proscribed at every court in Europe! It was sufficient that the ill consequences which were apprehended from the voting them year after year as part of our army, and upon the foot of a rival establishment, had been removed by his majesty's wisdom and goodness. The reflections cast on lord G's friends, and the strong terms in which the merit of this question was extolled by Mr. Pitt, drew up Sir H. Lyddel; he expressed himself with sense and propriety, but a good deal of warmth. It was indifferent to him in what canal the Hanover troops were paid, provided their service was not lost to the public; but he thought the manner in which the question was treated by the honourable gentleman who spoke last, required explanation; because, if it passed without one, it might carry an appearance to the world that the house was of opinion, these troops, let the occasion be ever so pressing, could never roll

Mr. Pitt possessed great elevation of mind, and his ruling passion was the love of power; he was distinguished for his disinterestedness and contempt of money, which, being attended with a total want of economy, often involved him in pecuniary distresses. Although this sketch is principally confined to the public character of this great statesman, yet it would be unjust to omit one amiable trait of his domestic life. Though deeply immersed in the most important affairs of state, he never forgot the du-

roll with the British; and as he was confirmed in the sentiments he declared on that head the last session, by the good harmony which had subsisted between the two corps during the last campaign, he would take the judgment of the house as to their compatibility or incompatibility, and hoped for assistance in framing a motion to that purpose. Pitt carried himself, in his reply, with all the art and temper imaginable: he soothed and complimented Sir H. Lyddel, at the same time put the question in a more just and equitable light. That the honourable gentleman had quoted his words exactly, but mistook his meaning, which was not to give the least offence to a heart so honourable and honest as his; that he considered the question as an expedient for unanimity, without making any invidious retrospect to what had passed in former debates; that he heartily wished all the differences they had occasioned might be buried in oblivion, and not revived again to the reproach of any gentleman whatsoever.' He covertly insinuated to Sir H. his question would only serve an interest, which he did not doubt they both rejoiced at the removal of, and should be sorry to see restored. Sir Henry came off very handsomely; thanked Pitt for telling him of his warmth, and acknowledged, as his question might be improper at this juncture, he would lay aside all thoughts of it."

ties of a father, but always paid the most unremitted attention to the education and morals of his children.

Notwithstanding Mr. Pitt had accepted a place in administration, and supported in general the measures of government; yet his independent spirit occasionally broke forth, particularly against the Bill of Naturalization, though proposed by Mr. Pelham. He supported the Bavarian treaty; but so highly disapproved the profusion of subsidies for the election of a king of the Romans, that he took no share in the discussion of the Saxon and Palatine treaties, and continued silent during the two next sessions of parliament. His silence was not wholly derived from his political sentiments; but arose partly from his disappointment on the resignation of the duke of Bedford, when he expected the office of secretary of state; though he did not condescend to solicit it. This disappointment made a deep impression on his ambitious spirit, and he seems to have meditated a secession from the ministry, and, with lord Cobham and his other friends, turned his attention to Leicester-house; but their schemes were defeated by the death of the prince of Wales. He retained, however, his office, and continued a lukewarm supporter of government, until the

death of Mr. Pelham again awakened his expectations.

The views of Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox were now directed to the same object; they had long been rivals for power, and candidates for fame. During the first eight years of their parliamentary career, they had opposed each other with warmth and acrimony: and though, from the establishment of the Broad Bottom ministry, they had concurred in the support of the same cause; yet they had given way to occasional bickerings and altercations, particularly in the progress of the Mutiny and Regency bills. In the midst of these jealousies, however, they both exhibited striking proofs of their candour and reciprocal esteem: when Mr. Fox was designated by the public voice as successor to lord Chesterfield, Mr. Pitt made a voluntary offer of his influence and support; and Mr. Fox, in a confidential letter to Sir Charles Hanbury Williams, mentions Mr. Pitt as "a man whom he liked and admired*."

In the struggle for power which ensued on the death of Mr. Pelham, the two rival candidates were disappointed: Sir Thomas Robinson was nominated secretary of state, and Mr. Legge, after a short delay, chancellor of the exchequer.

* February 18. 1751. Hanbury Papers.

All the important business of parliament having been settled before the death of Mr. Pelham, and the new ministerial arrangements not being concluded, no material event occurred during the remainder of the short session, which was closed on the sixth of April, and the parliament dissolved on the eighth. The plan for the new elections, settled by Mr. Pelham, and approved by the king, was carried into execution by the duke of Newcastle; the first session was opened by the duke of Cumberland and other lords, under a commission from the king, on the 31st of May: and after the usual forms of choosing a speaker, and swearing the members, the parliament was immediately prorogued. The second session of this parliament, which was no less loyal than the former, commenced on the 14th of November 1754, and passed with the same quiet and unanimity: Both houses displayed equal zeal in supporting the measures adopted by government against the approaching hostilities with France, by voting the requisite number of forces, and by granting adequate supplies. The only remarkable instance of an opposition to government, was a motion made by lord Poulet in the house of peers, for an address, requesting his majesty not to quit the kingdom in so cri-

tical and dangerous a juncture; but, not being seconded, it was negatived without a division.

The unusual calm and tranquillity of this session seemed to announce stability and union in the ministry; but the cabinet was torn by intestine dissensions, and the summer was passed in cabals which terminated in a new arrangement. To trace the causes of these disagreements, it is necessary to take a retrospective view of the state of the cabinet, and of parties, since the death of Mr. Pelham. The king, after his ineffectual attempt to remove the Pelhams, submitted with reluctance to their sway, and impressed with the maxim of Sir Robert Walpole, *tranquilla non movere*, sunk into acquiescence in their measures. As he was governed by habit, his antipathy gradually subsided into indifference, and he retained only his resolution to exclude from the cabinet those who were personally obnoxious to him. On the death of Mr. Pelham, he transferred his whole confidence to the duke of Newcastle, to whom he entrusted the management of the house of commons, and the ministerial arrangements.

The king, however, retained a high degree of affection and regard for his son the duke of Cumberland, and was occasionally swayed by his advice. The duke himself was a prince of high spirit and considerable talents, and pos-

sessed great influence in parliament, from the number of his adherents, among whom Mr. Fox was eminently conspicuous.

Amelia Sophia de Walmoden, created countess of Yarmouth, was the avowed mistress of the king. He became attached to her at the court of Hanover, soon after his dismission of lady Suffolk, but never brought her to England during the life of queen Caroline. Mr. Walpole thus describes her person and character in a letter to princess Amelia, written in 1736: "As to her person, she is not very handsome; is much marked with the small-pox; ever since her last lying-in, is extremely pale, and not perfectly well; has by no means an agreeable mouth. However, the shape and air of her countenance has a great deal of sweetness, which, joined with a pleasing and affable address, makes her very engaging. And as her whole care and art is employed in endeavouring to amuse and divert, instead of teazing and soliciting the prince for favours, as dames of her station are used to do, he is extremely taken with her; and, while she certainly asks for no great boons for herself or friends, yet she is of so mild and good a disposition, that she is thought never to speak ill of any body, and to do all the good offices she can, by her conversation in general; which keeps the prince in

good humour, gains her the good-will of the whole court, and as much love and as little malice as possible from the ladies, who all wish that they could be in her place."

Thus, unassuming and unambitious, she did not, like the mistresses of George the First, interfere in political intrigues. She was principally desirous to amass riches, and was occasionally gratified by the king himself with the disposal of a peerage or the garter. She was, however, much courted by the minister; as her influence over the temper of the king kept him in good humour, and she knew how to introduce memorials or letters on proper occasions, which relieved the king from personal importunities. At this period she gave her full confidence to the duke of Newcastle, and exerted her influence in promoting his views.

Notwithstanding, however, the possession of the king's confidence, and lady Yarmouth's influence, the duke of Newcastle was perplexed in the distribution of places, and as much embarrassed in the choice of co-adjutors, as if he had been thwarted by cabals in the closet. His jealous temper rendered him unwilling to admit any persons, likely from their talents, weight or influence, to weaken his authority; he was therefore averse to nominate, for his coadjutor, either Mr. Fox or Mr. Pitt; the former, because

he was agreeable to the king, and warmly supported by the duke of Cumberland; the latter, on account of his aspiring temper and transcendant abilities. But both were too highly esteemed by the public, and had too many adherents in parliament to be wholly overlooked on this occasion.

Mr. Fox had importuned for the posts occupied by Mr. Pelham as due to his past services; but finding that the duke of Newcastle had designed the treasury for himself, he applied for the office of secretary of state; and through the intervention of the marquis of Hartington, obtained a promise of the seals, accompanied, as he thought, with the direction of the house of commons. His nomination was even announced to the cabinet council, and he wrote circular letters to the members, declaring that the king had been pleased to entrust him with the conduct of the house of commons. But discovering in a conference with Newcastle, that he was not to have the management of the house of commons, he refused to submit to what he called a degradation, and declined the acceptance of the seals.

Mr. Pitt, as before, made no solicitation, but expected the offer of the seals; and when he heard of Mr. Fox's appointment, complained that he was not consulted, but only informed,

and that his inveterate enemy was raised to a post which was his due. But the duke of Newcastle, who was less desirous of having Mr. Pitt as a coadjutor than Mr. Fox, alledged the king's personal antipathy as an excuse for his exclusion*, and gave the office to Sir Thomas Robinson, whose extensive knowledge of foreign affairs, and long residence at the court of Vienna, rendered him a proper person to fill the southern department.

The duke of Newcastle, however, endeavoured to sooth Mr. Pitt, by appointing his brothers-in-law, Mr. George and Mr. James Grenville, to the offices of treasurer of the navy, and lord of the treasury, and his friend Mr. Lyttleton to the post of cofferer of the household. Mr. Legge, a person of considerable talents and great popularity, was, after a short delay, constituted chancellor of the exchequer; and other changes were made in the subordinate offices, calculated to give strength to government.

All parties were dissatisfied with these arrangements, and their dissatisfaction was augmented by the subsequent conduct of the duke of Newcastle, whose only view was to engross the sole confidence of the sovereign. Even most of those who had been raised to new offices

* Lord Melcombe's Diary.

were no less discontented. Mr. Legge complained that he was a mere cypher in government, and the Grenvilles thought their rank and connections deserved more consideration than they received, and declared that nothing would satisfy them while their great friend, Mr. Pitt, was dissatisfied.

This being the state of parties, the two rival orators naturally repressed their reciprocal jealousy, and, though they retained their places, united their endeavours to counteract the measures of the new secretary of state. Sir Thomas Robinson, who has been already mentioned as the secretary and friend of Mr. Walpole, though personally agreeable to the king, and, by his diplomatic knowledge, eminently qualified for fulfilling the duties of his office, was yet ill calculated to resist the weight of the combination against him. He was without parliamentary influence, and though he spoke with judgment and information, and conducted the business of government with credit through the second session of the parliament, while the two great orators were silent, yet he was unable to enter the lists against the gigantic talents of Pitt and Fox when they meditated opposition.

At the close of the session, therefore, perceiving the increasing embarrassments of his situation, he determined to resign; but retained his

office till a successor could be appointed. The contest for the seals immediately recommenced, and the summer of 1755 was passed in intrigues and negotiations, which terminated in his resignation in November 1755, a few days before the opening of the third session*.

* Sir Thomas Robinson on his resignation was re-appointed master of the wardrobe; in 1761 created lord Grantham, and died in 1770. Lord Grantham married Frances, third daughter of Thomas Worsley, of Herringham, in the county of York, esq. by whom he left two sons and two daughters. Thomas, who was nominated embassador to the court of Madrid in 1771; soon after his return to England, in 1779, he was appointed first lord of trade, and July 1782 secretary of state for foreign affairs, and concluded the preliminaries of peace in January 1783. He died in July 1786, leaving by his wife, Mary Jemima, youngest daughter of Philip, second earl of Hardwicke, by the marchioness Grey, Thomas Philip, the present lord Grantham, born in Dec. 1781, and Frederick John, born Nov. 1782.

Frederick, the youngest son of Sir Thomas Robinson, was intended for the law; but, on the mission of his brother to Spain, he was appointed secretary to that embassy. After his return to England, he was elected member of parliament for Ripon, in 1780, and died in December 1792, leaving no issue by his wife, Catharine Gertrude, second daughter of James Harris, esq. of the Close of Salisbury, (the distinguished author of Hermes and other philosophical works,) and sister to the present earl of Malmesbury.

The two daughters of the first lord Grantham were, Ann, unmarried, and Theresa, who espoused in 1769 John Parker, esq. of Sultram in Devonshire, who, in 1784, was created lord Boringdon. She died in 1775.

CHAPTER 38.

1754—1755.

Mr. Walpole is eagerly courted by the Duke of Newcastle —Letter from the Duke on the Encroachments of the French in America, and on the Contests for Pre-eminence in the House of Commons—Anxiety of Mr. Walpole to prevent the Departure of the King—At a Conference with the Ministers, reads his Thoughts on the Situation of Affairs—Letter to the Duke of Newcastle on the same Subject—Departure of the King for Hanover.

DURING the struggles for these arrangements, the support of Mr. Walpole was anxiously courted by all parties, as well because he was the principal leader of the old corps, as from the deference which the duke of Devonshire paid to his advice.

The ensuing winter Mr. Walpole attended, as usual, his duty in parliament; and, foreseeing the approaching rupture, exerted his influence over his friends and party, to induce them to co-operate in the support of government. His services, on this occasion, were highly appreciated by the cabinet; and he was admitted to a more than usually confidential intercourse by the duke of Newcastle. Among other subjects his grace consulted him on the recent encroach-

ments of France in America and the East Indies, which soon after this period produced a war. Among the Walpole papers I find several rough draughts on these subjects, which evince Mr. Walpole's general acquaintance with the history and trade of our colonies; but several are lost, and those which remain, are not sufficiently correct to be given to the public. We subjoin however an extract of a letter from his grace to Mr. Walpole, dated Clermont, October 20, 1754, which adverts to American affairs, and exhibits the state of the contest for predominance in the house of commons.

"As to our North American affair, the behaviour, I may say, the hostile behaviour of the French is so notorious, and would, if permitted, finally end in the loss of those colonies, that agreeably to what you advised, we were of opinion that effectual measures should be taken to redress those grievances, to defend our colonies, and regain our lost possessions. As this would be entirely a military operation, we *civil* ministers were at a loss whom to recommend, and what measures to take, especially knowing the difficulty; and that whatever *we* did, would be disapproved by *military men*. Upon which I took the liberty to desire the king to send Sir Thomas Robinson to the duke's, to consult his royal highness: that produced a

formal meeting with his royal highness and the king's servants; and the present scheme, and the measures for conducting it, and for the execution of it, are entirely his royal highness's.

"I have differed a little as to some preparatory steps, which I thought might be more frugally and as effectually done another way; but as the duke and the secretary at war persisted in thinking otherwise, I have in great measure acquiesced. I am persuaded you will approve what I have done, when I have time to inform you of the particulars. Though this measure (in some shape or other) was absolutely necessary, and I hope in this shape will be effectual, I see the danger there may be of France's taking it too strongly; but that must be ventured. I have wrote a private letter to lord Albemarle*, that we do nothing but what they have forced us to, and now at once, perhaps, what they have been doing every year since the peace of Aix-la-chapelle. I have desired him to explain this so in his conversation, which (I should hope) would enable the pacific part of the administration, and particularly madame de Pompadour, and the duke de Mirepoix, to prevent any ill consequences from this, which they had brought upon themselves.

* The british embassador at Paris.

"Our affairs in Spain go well, though our friends let slip their opportunity of getting rid of all their enemies; and weakness and solicitation have obtained a pension of 2000 pistoles per annum for Ensenada, whose crime was having amassed an immense fortune at the public expence, for which he was to have been prosecuted. But things are certainly vastly mended; and I verily believe that there is an end (for the present, at least,) of french councils and french influence: and that, I hope, will tend to discourage France from any inclination to war. So that no ill consequence will happen from our necessary measures of vigour in North America.

"I hope we shall soon have the pleasure of seeing you in town. As I am now your next door neighbour at Whitehall, I hope to have your advice without any inconvenience to yourself. I think our money matters are settled, so as to give no cause of disturbance or uneasiness to any body. I have prevailed upon Sir John Barnard to lay aside the thought of converting the redeemable 3 per cent. annuities into annuities for lives on terms of years, *for this session.* That would certainly have created opposition, as I found by the discourses which I have had upon the subject, both with monied men and country gentlemen, which last are very un-

willing to think of any diminution of the sinking fund; as that, in case of a war, must fall upon them by the increase of the land-tax, or creating some new fund. I don't find that *measures* are blamed; the only point of difference is personal.

"Some great persons in the house of commons don't think their merit rewarded, and therefore endeavour to have it thought that there is a necessity of having a minister, or the minister, in the house of commons; concluding, I suppose, that, that principle once established, every body has his chance. As this affects the king's system and present arrangement only, and not the conduct and behaviour of any particular person in his employment, I am persuaded that the majority of this house of commons will not enter into any scheme of this kind. It would be very improper in me to hint this to any one, but to one in whom I have an entire confidence, and who can, upon this occasion, be of the greatest service to persuade some who may not be altogether unbiassed by this principle *or trap*, and to influence others to see the impropriety of it, or little foundation for it.

"I have now told you the whole grievance: you will make your use of it: but I must beg that it may not be known that it comes from me. I hav several more things to say, but

indeed have not time; I hope to hear that you will be soon in town. You see I have at last got the ribbon for Sir Benjamin*; that pleases him: but he still insists upon coming home in the spring. How shall we replace him there, or satisfy him here? I shall have all possible attention to obey all the commands I receive from you, either with regard to the utmost of my power, or to your Norfolk friends, who deserve so well of the king and his servants.

"P. S. I shall give the greatest attention to your scheme to prevent running wool from Ireland."

Mr. Walpole was alarmed, at this period, at the fatal disagreement which had again recently broke forth between the courts of St. James's and Leicester-house; at the dangerous discordance in administration; at the coolness between the dukes of Cumberland and Newcastle; and dreaded lest the war, which was now impending, with France, might be carried on in the same inefficient manner as the last, and be attended with the most fatal consequences, should the king continue in his resolution of leaving the kingdom. The only remedies which occurred to Mr. Walpole, were, either to prevent

* Sir Benjamin Keene, who was warmly patronised by the Walpole family, and distinguished himself by his diplomatic talents in the embassy to Spain.

the departure of the king, or to place the duke of Cumberland at the head of the regency, with the concurrence of the princess of Wales. Impressed with these apprehensions, he paid an early visit to Mr. Stone, for the purpose of laying his scheme before the duke of Newcastle. He had the satisfaction to find that the same ideas had occurred to Mr. Stone, and had been already suggested.

By his grace's desire, Mr. Walpole drew up a paper relative to the situation of affairs, which he read in a select meeting at Newcastle house, at which were present the dukes of Newcastle, Devonshire and Grafton; the lord chancellor, the marquis of Hartington, and the earl of Waldegrave, governor of the prince of Wales.

"The situation of affairs is most critical and perilous. Whether peace or war is uncertain; and, in either case, the conduct of affairs must be extremely difficult, and absolutely requires his majesty's presence. This uncertainty may not be over for some time, and yet may suddenly demand a speedy decision; can that be done in the king's absence?

"In the mean time, can the parliament be prorogued under such an uncertainty? and if prorogued, can, in the king's absence, the proper steps be taken in parliament for the approbation of the terms of peace, or more vigorous

measures, by raising more men and money for the defence of his kingdoms, and supporting a war, as the exigencies may require? Will not innumerable and unanswerable difficulties and questions be started, nobody knows from what quarter, and upon what foot, in a parliament under no direction or controul? In short, the want of his majesty's weight and presence will make all negotiations and operations imperfect, if not impracticable.

"If his majesty should go abroad, in case of a war, the severest reflections and clamours will be general and loud, both from the well-affected and disaffected, against his majesty's ministers. Their zealous endeavours to keep him at home will scarce be believed, and, if believed, will still have a worse effect, by raising sedition and discontent personally against his majesty, to a degree that it is terrible to think of.

"In this distracted situation there will be, in a manner, a dissolution of government. France may be tempted to undertake such enterprises as she never thought of before; such as the regal and legal authority of the cabinet council will not have unanimity and authority enough to obviate, or disappoint in time, especially in military matters. As the duke of Cumberland is not one of the regency, he will not, it may perhaps be apprehended, look upon himself to

be so absolutely under the direction and orders of the regency, as to obey implicitly, without knowing the king's pleasure, their plans or orders. Or can he be supposed to be in so good humour with the chief of them, as to propose plans himself, in matters which he certainly knows better than any of them? Nay, may it not be possible, that, according to the general distress or alarm, whether in Britain or in Ireland; may not, I say, some persons of consideration, that are the best affected, even those that did not desire to make his royal highness regent upon the demise of the king, call for the assistance of the duke of Cumberland, to save the whole family in such an extremity? Good God! what confusion! what disorder among the friends! What pleasure, what advantage, to the enemies of the government!

"As to treaties and measures that may be concerted for a diversion, or in opposition to France and her allies abroad, which can be only made with the queen of Hungary and Russia, (for the States will never be brought to take any part,) it is not easy to shew what can be done of any consequence with those powers; but in his majesty's absence, any thing of that nature will be treated with scorn and ridicule in England. What then is to be done? There seems to remain the following expedients:

"1st. That the ministers should let his majesty know, in the most humble and dutiful manner, that so many unforeseen difficulties and distresses may arise, that it is impossible for them, with their utmost zeal, attention, and fidelity, to obey his majesty's commands, either during the negotiations to prevent a war; and the more so, in case of a war, to undertake to carry on the government of this country with honour and safety, as persons and things may be disposed and constituted in his majesty's absence: or, 2d, humbly to beseech his majesty, that he will be graciously pleased, if he is resolved to go abroad, to appoint the duke of Cumberland regent; and that they are ready to support his royal highness with their counsel and assistance in their respective stations.

"This expedient may, at first, raise several disagreeable reflections *in a certain place*, as well as among the ministers who have not that intimacy and correspondence with his royal highness as were to be wished, and indeed must be brought about, in case it be carried into execution.

"But, to remove all jealousies, this only necessary measure, for the safety of this government, in his majesty's absence, should be first opened and broke, in a manner to show the necessity of it, *in that place*, by a proper inter-

course and correspondence of persons that have the greatest influence and credit there, and settled by degrees in concert between the princess of Wales and the duke of Cumberland, with the intervention of the chief ministers, and be proposed by her royal highness to the king. But if this expedient cannot take place, there seems nothing left to prevent the general calamity and confusion that threatens, but that the princess of Wales should take the first opportunity to fling herself at his majesty's feet, and, encompassed with the chief of her royal children, most humbly implore the king, for their sakes, in the most moving and submissive manner, not to leave these kingdoms, and abandon his royal progeny, after so many marks of his paternal tenderness and affection for them, at a juncture that may, by his absence, expose them to the greatest dangers.

"If nothing that goes before can be obtained, it is to be apprehended that persons of great weight and consideration, and who will by no means go into a peevish motion of a disgraced lord of the bedchamber, may, when that is over, take some step of the same nature afterwards, if the king perseveres in his resolution of leaving these kingdoms at this juncture."

Mr. Walpole still further enforced these con-

siderations, in a letter to the duke of Newcastle:

"MY DEAR LORD,

Cockpit, April 15, 1755.

"I look upon the confidence of being admitted to a private meeting at your grace's house, the 12th instant, with persons of so great consideration, and upon matters of such importance, at so critical a juncture, as a greater mark of honour and regard than I can pretend to deserve; and I hope that such an admission will justify the freedom I take, to open myself more fully to your grace, on the subject matter of that conference, than I presumed then to do.

"The impertinence and insolence of lord Paulet's intended motion, in his situation, and the manner he designs to make it, both with respect to his majesty and the ministry, ought to be treated accordingly. But then the thing itself is so desirable, and so popular, that if something be not done to quiet the apprehensions of good men, and prevent the ill use that will be made of his majesty's leaving us, by bad men, this affair will not rest there, by the present disappointment of an ill conducted motion of a peevish lord.

"The clamours against his majesty's resolution grow daily louder with the belief of it, and

the ferment increases; and 'tis said there will certainly be a motion in our house to divert him from it, and the same spirit is rising in the city, which may be followed by addresses from counties and boroughs. This deserves consideration, especially as to the person by whom, and the manner in which, such a motion is to be managed, on the part of the court, in our house; for if it be made with decency, weight, and affection to his majesty's person and family, what may be done, on so plausible and interesting a subject, by members of no great eloquence and parts, and much more so by those that are able, (and nobody knows who may take a part in it when once started,) may have a most irresistible effect.

"These things, your grace knows, were not canvassed at our last meeting; the whole time being employed upon lord Paulet's intentions: 1st. To consider whether it was possible to dissuade his majesty from his resolution of going abroad; and 2d, As such an attempt seemed to be looked upon as vain and fruitless, whether regal authority could be so far extended and vested with such powers, beyond what had ever been granted in the absence of the sovereign, and in such persons as may enable them to obviate the innumerable difficulties that may suddenly occur, relating to peace or

war, upon exigencies that will not suffer delay, and to carry the necessary measures into execution for the common safety and defence with unanimity and vigour; and by that means to calm the minds, in some measure, of the most considerable and best affected persons, who are at present extremely uneasy at this doubtful and dangerous situation.

"Here your grace may remember that the making the duke of Cumberland regent, or one of the regency, was mentioned, for reasons that were obvious, and seemed, I believe, unanswerable to some, in considering the good of the whole, as the best expedient (though none can be equivalent to his majesty's staying in England,) in so desperate a case.

"Your grace will pardon the liberty I take in letting you know, it was observed that lord chancellor and yourself did not seem to relish this scheme, in a manner agreeable to your great wisdom, and adequate to the apprehensions of confusion that seem to threaten the administration of government, when lodged in such a number of regents, how united or connected nobody can tell; while, at the same time, the great personage, whose head and hand must in all likelihood be the most useful towards planning and executing what is necessary to be done, is excluded from the chief confidence

and counsel in the affairs of state. Your grace was pleased to say, at the meeting, that the duke of Cumberland had been acquainted, by the proper officers in their respective stations, with every thing that had been done since the first appearance of these troubles; and that his majesty was fully apprised of it, and satisfied with it. But your grace will pardon me for asking, and appealing to yourself, whether such a communication to the duke of Cumberland, by the officers in their several departments, though very respectable persons, of what had been projected, without a previous conference with him, by lord chancellor or your grace, can be looked upon by his royal highness as such marks of confidence for his sentiments and advice, as can satisfy one of his dignity in matters where he may be principally useful? He, without doubt, considers it as a communication *après coup*, and to save appearances only: I don't mean by this that his royal highness should have had a share in the administration, when things were in the ordinary and quiet course of business; I don't presume to enter into, and be a judge of, that matter; but in this extraordinary crisis, I can't help thinking that a constant intercourse, personally, upon a confidential foot, between the duke and the chief ministers, should take place. And, if that can't be done, inevita-

ble and inextricable difficulties must occur in the king's absence.

"As to lord chancellor, whose great talents, moderation, and practicable disposition, nobody can have a greater opinion of than myself, I must own, that when I read to him at his house the paper your grace saw and heard at yours, his thoughts upon it, relating to the duke of Cumberland, appeared to me to be contracted into narrower views than seem consonant with the importance of our condition, and the disagreeable consequences apprehended from it at this great juncture. His lordship intimated to me, that his royal highness was not very popular; and let fall something, from whence I concluded, that should he be made regent, his lordship may be of opinion it might fling the administration wholly into his royal highness's hands, jointly with others in his immediate confidence, that are not friends to the chief ministers. And I must own I made the same inference in my mind, from the manner in which his lordship expressed himself on this head at the meeting, with great modesty and candour, in looking upon the duke of Cumberland being put in that station as the greatest piece of good fortune that could happen to him; the chancellor meaning, I suppose, that as he should

not have so great a share in the administration, he should not be responsible for it.

"Now, my dear lord, this affair strikes me in a very different light. It is certainly true, that the enemies of the government hate and detest the duke of Cumberland; and that even some that are well affected have entertained (whether well or ill founded) their jealousies of his royal highness, if placed in the highest seat of power; but, in desperate cases, *Salus populi*, the safety of the whole, is to be considered and preferred to abstracted notions. The reasons of the jacobites hatred operate in the strongest manner in support of what is suggested; and as to the jealousies of those that are friends to the present family, if what is proposed should take place, by a joint concert and approbation of the princess of Wales, those jealousies would soon vanish.

"With respect to the present administration, if the affair relating to the duke of Cumberland should be transacted and settled, as it certainly ought to be, by the immediate management and intervention of the lord chancellor and your grace, between the royal families, it must consequently create a confidence in the conduct of affairs between the duke of Cumberland and you two; for, to whom can his royal highness give his

confidence in preference to yours? He must be desirous, in such a station, to live well, for his own sake, with his majesty's chosen ministers, with whom he must constantly confer and act. Who is there of that consequence and use, among all those that frequent and live with him who can engage his favour and predilection in business? And therefore, notwithstanding all former coolness and misunderstanding, I should think a round and cordial disposition, on lord chancellor and your grace's part, to serve his royal highness as sole regent, with your council and assistance; or to act jointly and confidentially with him, if he will readily concur in the scheme of a regency, composed of as few as in former reigns, (for a great number of regents may be liable to many inconveniences,) will meet with a suitable return of confidence from him; for nothing is more frequent in courts than that the change of political stations alters political inclinations, with respect to ministers of use and service.

"On the other hand, if, besides the labouring under general clamours against you for your not being able or willing to keep his majesty in England, insuperable difficulties should arise in your administration, for want of present authority and timely orders from the absent king,

and an union among the regents, while the duke of Cumberland may be retired from all business and concern for the public, and the wheels of government should not only stand still, but the enemies to it take an irretrievable advantage from this confusion; what would be the fate of you both, (if this country is not lost before,) at the next meeting of a parliament under no direction or controul, and where a variety of discontents and ill humours will be afloat? Your administration can't possibly subsist, and will be dissolved with such disagreeable circumstances, that if you do not apprehend them yourselves, it will be improper for me to explain them.

"I hope what goes before will not be understood by your grace to be said with an intention to derogate in the least from lord chancellor's and your grace's capacity to carry on the administration as honestly and ably as any other person, when nothing more is meant than that you should take, at a juncture that I believe never existed before, the joint assistance and counsels of those that must, by their quality and station, be the instruments, in case of imminent danger, of our preservation, and not make yourselves solely answerable for any fatal event that may possibly overtake this nation;

and God knows whether the greatest efforts and union will be sufficient.

"In short, if a jealousy of your authority in the administration being so much retrenched, and like to fall into other hands, by the participation of it to the duke of Cumberland, is what you have most at heart; and you have resolution and courage enough to think, that, with the ordinary powers of an usual regency in the cabinet council, or by their being farther extended in our present cloudy circumstances, to steer the helm of government by yourselves, in God's name keep fast hold of it! I heartily wish you all imaginable success in conducting the vessel to a safe port, through the storms that threaten; while I retire to my cabin in the country, and expect my fate, with the rest of my fellow-subjects, praying that the great God, who only fighteth for us, may give peace in our time!"

The plan of Mr. Walpole was only partially followed; no efforts were made by the ministry to prevent the departure of the king, and no attempts to conciliate the princess of Wales. The duke of Cumberland was placed at the head of a numerous regency, yet without sufficient power to act a decisive part in case of emergency; the parliament was prorogued on the

25th of April; on the 28th the king embarked at Harwich for his german dominions, and the nation beheld his departure with apprehension and regret, arising from the divisions of the cabinet, the unsettled state of Europe, and the dread of a french invasion.

CHAPTER 39.

1754—1755.

Mr. Walpole writes his "Answer to the latter Part of Lord Bolingbroke's Letters on the Study of History." —Correspondence on that Subject.

AT this period of his life, Mr. Walpole employed himself in refuting lord Bolingbroke. He had long been urged by his particular friends "to give an antidote," according to his own expression, "to the political venom of Bolingbroke," and seems to have meditated an answer before the death of the noble author, as appears from a letter dated July 20, 1751, to his friend Mr. Yorke:

"I would not omit the first opportunity to return you my sincere acknowledgements for your affectionate letter of the 14th, enquiring so kindly after the health of one who, if friendship and attachment to you and your family have any merit, may deserve some remembrance, although otherwise of little consequence and consideration.

"I had but a troublesome journey into the country, not being able to creep faster than three miles an hour in a chariot with springs, and that not without frequent and painful re-

turns of my disorder. But since I came home, having kept myself quiet, and used no other motion but slow and short walks, I have been extremely well. As soon as I shall be allowed to try again a wheel carriage, if I find myself in any degree able, I will endeavour to have the pleasure of waiting upon you at Wrest, which is never out of my thoughts.

"I am utterly a stranger to what is doing in town or court; Mr. Lyttleton*, of the treasury, and his brother, have been with me, and staid here three days; but as they could tell me nothing from above that is certain, besides that the present situation there of credit and power is uncertain, (which I believe is true,) after they were tired with walking in my lawns and my gardens, I entertained them with some historical anecdotes of former transactions and negotiations, and unread or unriddled some oraculous lectures of Pope's great genius†, which they had swallowed and believed, with as much faith, and as little foundation of truth and reason, as oracles of old had been consulted and followed. And I was better able to do it, because during this leisure of retirement, I am employed in amusing myself with turning over and putting into order my ministerial lucubrations abroad, and should be tempted, if I had

* Afterwards Lord Lyttleton. † Lord Bolingbroke.

more years before me, to make an historical abstract of them, that might serve as an antidote hereafter to that venom of false facts that is now privately, and may, when those that can contradict them are no more, be publicly scattered in the world. I have troubled you too long; but can't conclude without congratulating you upon the prospect of one brother* being likely to succeed lord Holdernesse at the Hague, and upon the justice done to the merit of the other†, in being made counsel to the East India Company; for nothing can happen that can be agreeable to any branch of your family, but will give pleasure to him that is, with the most affectionate respect, &c."

From a subsequent letter to Mr. Yorke, written after the death of lord Bolingbroke, he appears to have formed a more decided resolution with respect to his intended answer.

"Wolterton, July 23, 1753. The clamours and troubles endeavoured to be raised all over England, for passing the Jews' bill, are indeed wonderful, considering it met the least opposition in the house of lords, and had made some progress in our house before much notice was taken of it, and that was occasioned by a worthless set of Jacobites in the common coun-

* Sir Joseph Yorke, afterwards Lord Dover.

† The hon. Charles Yorke.

cil of London, under the auspices of the false popularity of Sir John Barnard. But I do not apprehend it will have any effect of consequence in the new general election against the Whigs, as there is no formidable body of opponents against the present administration existing. The last opposition was of a coalition of disappointed Patriots with disaffected Tories. The views and objects of the first ceased with the death of the late prince of Wales, and they are become reasonable and practicable mortals reunited to the old corps; the Tories are not inconsiderable in numbers, but, for want of heads and hearts, and the plausible pretext of patriotism, they are loose, disconcerted, and a band incapable of acting, and will continue so as long as the ministry has no other demands to make but what is necessary for the current service of the year in time of peace; which God long preserve! For, should new troubles break out abroad, by France resuming her antient views, I am afraid, according to our present system of foreign politics, and the situation of Europe, we shall unavoidably be soon overtaken with innumerable troubles, and, without some miraculous turn of Providence, I apprehend, we must submit to the dictates of France, or become a military government. But I have gone too far; I should not have gone so far to any body else.

"These melancholy reflections, when foreign affairs occur to my mind, although I am in as good health and spirits as ever, and I am not, as you very well know, subject to vapours, nor have reason to be so in private concerns, (for next to your great father, nobody can be happier than I am in my family,) these reflections, I say, fling such a damp and discouragement in my way, by the apparition of what may happen, that I have not the heart to look back into past transactions, and to unmask that wicked impostor Bolingbroke, whose villainous ministry and measures have been the source from whence all the difficulties, debts and distresses that have embarrassed this nation, both in domestic and foreign concerns, ever since the peace of Utrecht, have directly flowed:

'*Hac fonte derivata clades*
'*In patriam populumque fluxit.*'

"However, I have at leisure hours taken the works of that charlatan into my hands; and find the notoriety of the falsehoods advanced in almost every page, makes the difficulty of an answer. For instead of stating known propositions and facts, and making the proper inferences and true conclusions from them, his affirmations of things that never existed are strong and positive, and are incoherently scattered up and down his books, with interludes

of amusing anecdotes, and embellishments nothing to the purpose, to divert the reader from farther enquiry, taking it for granted that such impudent assertions must have some foundation of truth, which makes it hard to collect them into a body, and, by taking them to pieces, afterwards to expose the variety of falsehoods, stript of artificial ornaments, in their natural and hideous deformity; but perhaps something may be attempted. I am ever, &c."

The attention of Mr. Walpole, however, was diverted by other occupations, until Mallet gave a superb edition of all Bolingbroke's Works, in five volumes quarto. These writings, which were equally hostile to religion and government, being published on the day of Mr. Pelham's death, gave rise to a beautiful passage in Mr. Garrick's celebrated ode:

> The same sad morn to Church and State,
> (So for our sins 'twas fix'd by fate,)
> A double stroke was giv'n:
> Black as the whirlwinds of the north,
> St. John's fell genius issued forth,
> And Pelham fled to heav'n *.

This publication roused the indignation of Mr. Walpole; he resumed his labours with increasing zeal and perseverance, and I shall throw together a few letters which exhibit the

* An ode on the death of Mr. Pelham, by Mr. Garrick.—Dodsley's Collection of Poems, vol. 4, p. 198.

progress of this interesting work until it was finally completed.

Mr. Walpole to Lord Royston.*

"Wolterton, July 8th, 1754. The punctilio of having wrote last would not have prevented my keeping up an intercourse of letters with the person for whom I have so great a respect and affection, and in whose correspondence and conversation I always find the utmost satisfaction, could I have furnished out any thing that deserved giving you trouble. The variety of agreeable objects which nature, improved by some art, in this situation, affords, are entertainment to a quiet mind retired from the novelties and noise of the busy world; but cannot be the acceptable subject of a letter to a distant friend, who enjoys them in greater perfection, no more than an account of my amusements within doors among eminent authors, or of my political speculations upon modern transactions that are past; among which I sometimes cast an eye upon Bolingbroke's fables. I say sometimes, because the misrepresentations of facts are so gross, his reflections upon able men and honest measures are so violent and unjust, that I am not able to dwell upon them long in order to confute them, without being ruffled with greater

* Mr. Yorke had recently assumed the title of lord Royston, on the elevation of his father to the earldom of Hardwicke.

resentment and disorder than is suitable to the calm I propose to enjoy in this happy retirement, at my time of life. For, as to future events, I keep them at as great a distance as I can from my thoughts, leaving them to the lucubrations of those that are in the vigour of their age, or in stations that require their attention to the public weal; myself perfectly content with our present happy tranquillity, and praying for the duration of it.

"But, alas! in the midst of this delightful dream of an elysian peace, the duke of Newcastle has, in a very affectionate and confidential manner, awakened me from the pleasing indolence of a rural life, and set my political thoughts again at sea with an account of the french encroachments upon our settlements in the West Indies. The black clouds gathering there, I am afraid, are big of an unpleasant storm. I have sent his grace my notions; crude and imperfect, you will easily imagine, they must be, uninformed as I am of particulars at this distance. But the substance of some long letters, in answer to some questions I was asked, is, in short, that our colonies must not be abandoned; if they have not sufficient force of themselves, of men or money, they must be supplied from hence to withstand and repel the french unjust attempts. If this becomes a serious affair,

and France has projected a scheme for destroying our trade in the East and West Indies, it will be a more effectual measure for ruining this nation than any war on the continent in Europe, or intrigues for a rebellion in favour of the pretender; it will indeed be laying the axe at the root of the tree."

Mr. Fowle to Mr. Etough.*

"January 31, 1754-5. Our great friend has begun the work you have so long and so often recommended to him, and has completed it from the year 1706. The manuscript has given great satisfaction to those whom he has favoured with a sight of it. He is going on with it to the year 1715. My neighbour, Sir Edward, and I, wish to have it carried on towards the year 1740. But our good and great friend says, that he has not materials for such a work, and that he can get no farther than 1714-5; so that we have no expectation of having more of the scene, wherein his noble relation was particularly interested, opened to us, than what may be had from general accounts of that period of time from 1715, towards 1740. What may be become of the materials collected for a particular account of this noble person, and his great

* Commissioner of the Excise, who married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Charles Turner, by Mary, sister of Mr. Walpole.

transactions, I know not; I am sure he once had such by him."

Mr. Walpole to Lord Royston.

"Wolterton, July 12, 1755. I was extremely glad to hear that lord chancellor is so well. His lordship being able to throw off the air of business with the gown of the magistrate, is a happiness of temper that will contribute to preserve long such a state of health that is so necessary for the service of the public, especially at this juncture, when I imagine that his great abilities may be more wanted than ever, as it cannot be long before we must have some news of consequence from America, as well as from our own fleet. I flatter myself they will both be successful: but what may follow from that success, unless it prevents an open war, does not afford me the most agreeable reflection; for, beating or beaten, a general war, in my opinion, is the worst thing that can befal this nation, at this present time, when a debt, almost unsupportable already, is increasing under an administration that cannot be said to be perfectly settled. For my part, I am resolved to make myself as easy as I can, enjoying at present a sound mind in a sound body; and I will pray at a distance for the peace of Israel, sensible that I can be of no service in the seat of action, either with respect to foreign or domestic troubles.

"As I am now, and am resolved to continue, at leisure, and am in tolerable good spirits, I shall employ some of my time in finishing my answer to lord Bolingbroke's political misrepresentation, which I find will be no otherwise very difficult, than as it will be tedious, and in a great measure a repetition of the report from the secret committee in 1715*; an incomparable performance, which I am afraid length of time, and the intervention of other great affairs, have buried in oblivion, although we feel at this time the fatal effects of the infamous treaty of Utrecht. And therefore it may not be improper to undeceive posterity, at least, in the false notions that they may otherwise entertain of the chief actions and actors in that wretched scene, from the wrong impressions which the bold and unjust assertions in the posthumous works of a profane and profligate author, that the saddle, as we country folks call it, may be laid upon the right horse."

Mr. Walpole finished only the first and second part of the work, which concludes with the dismission of the duke of Marlborough in 1711; but left an incomplete sketch of the third part, which was intended to carry the refutation down to the conclusion of the peace of Utrecht.

* This able performance was written by Sir Robert Walpole. See Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole, chap. 11.

The two first parts were published in 1763, by his son, under the title of "An Answer to the latter Part of Lord Bolingbroke's Letters on the Study of History, by the late Lord Walpole, of Wolterton, in a Series of Letters to a Noble Lord." This answer is an excellent supplement to Mr. Poyntz's Vindication of the Barrier Treaty*, and to Bishop Hare's Letters to a Tory Member, which relate the negotiations at the Hague and Gertruydenburg; it may be considered as a complete refutation of Bolingbroke's Letters on the History of that period, which, when stripped of the graces of style and metaphorical ornament, may be justly called, in Mr. Walpole's words, "a labyrinth of absurdity and contradictions†."

* The Barrier Treaty Vindicated is erroneously printed among the works of bishop Hare. "Hare," Mr. Walpole writes in a letter to Mr. Etough, "was not the author of the Barrier Treaty Vindicated; the whole performance was by Mr. Poyntz, and it is an excellent work." Cockpit, May 26, 1752.

Leland also published some judicious "Reflections on Lord Bolingbroke's Letters on the Study and Use of History, especially so far as relate to Christianity and the Holy Scriptures." The same author, in his "View of Deistical Writers," refuted his infidel writings, miscalled philosophical works. These reveries were also no less ably combated by the masterly pen of Warburton, in his "View of Lord Bolingbroke's Philosophy."

† It is remarkable that the political visions of Bolingbroke are held in equal estimation by the High Tories and by the most violent among the Modern Reformers.

His

Bishop of Norwich, to Mr. Walpole,

" DEAR SIR, Feb. 14, 1754.

" I have with the utmost pleasure read over, and received the fullest satisfaction from the papers you was so kind as to communicate to me. Indeed, I should before now have brought them back to you with my sincere thanks for this particular instance of your friendship, but I have been confined almost ever since, and was just venturing out this morning for the first time to breath some fresh air. You have stated the principal facts, which Bolingbroke hath so scandalously misrepresented, with so

His character is thus delineated by Smollet: " That nobleman, seemingly sequestered from the tumults of a public life, resided at Battersea, where he was visited, like a sainted shrine, by all the distinguished votaries of wit, eloquence, and political ambition." Vol. 3, p. 220.

Mr. William Belsham says: " At this period lord Bolingbroke resided at the rustic mansion of Dawley in Middlesex: and was visited in this beautiful and sequestered retreat, to make use of the expression of a cotemporary historian, ' as a sainted shrine, by all the distinguished votaries of wit, eloquence, and political ambition.' Matured and mellowed by experience, reflection, and age, this all-accomplished nobleman, framed in the prodigality of nature, and no less conspicuous in the lofty fancies of science, than the rosy bowers of pleasure or the gorgeous palaces of ambition, shone forth in the evening of life with a mild and subdued, but rich and resplendent lustre. And in his political writings he exhibited to an admiring world that IDEA of a PATRIOT KING which the heir of the british monarchy was supposed ambitious to form himself upon, as a complete and perfect model."—Belsham's Memoirs of the Kings of Great Britain, of the House of Brunswick Lunenburg, vol. 2, p. 172.

much clearness, that I think the most bigoted admirer of Bolingbroke must feel conviction, if he is capable of being convinced by facts and argument. As to what you say concerning your age; from what I have read I can't help suspecting there must be some mistake in the parish register where it is entered, or that 76, in your case, hath not affected your spirit or your language. I will wait upon you the first minute I can. I had not heard of your being indisposed, for which I am truly concerned, as no one is with greater respect, than I am, &c.

THO. NORWICH.

*From Archbishop Herring.**

"SIR, Croydon-house, Feb. 18, 1755.

"I can't return the inclosed without accompanying them with my best thanks for the

* Thomas Herring, son of the reverend John Herring, rector of Walsoken in Norfolk, was born in 1693, and completed his education, which was commenced at Wisbech school in the isle of Ely, at Jesus College, Cambridge. He made considerable attainments in classical and ecclesiastical literature, and was remarkable for the complacency of his manners and suavity of his disposition. He was fellow and tutor of Christ's college; entered into holy orders in 1719, and became chaplain to Fleetwood bishop of Ely, from whose patronage he obtained the livings of Retendon in Essex, and Barley in Hertfordshire. After filling the office of preacher to the society of Lincoln's Inn, he was appointed chaplain to the king, rector of Blechingley in Surry, and dean of Rochester (1731.) In 1737 he was constituted bishop of Bangor, and in 1743 archbishop of York.

During

amusement and instruction I have received from it. It were impertinent in me to applaud the book; but I hope it will see the light, that the wretched man may be detected in his politics as well as his religion, that he may not delude the world in either. With regard to the first, the papers before me must have for their motto what prince Henry says in the play to Sir John

During the rebellion in 1745 he exerted himself with great zeal in favour of government; having convened a public meeting in his diocese, he made a sensible and animated speech, obtained a subscription to a considerable amount, and contributed to raise and embody volunteers and other corps of troops, who performed essential services against the rebels.

These exertions drew on him the abuse of the jacobites, and occasioned a rumour that he had appeared in regimentals at the head of his clergy, and declared he was as ready to fight as to pray for the family on the throne. A caricature print was also published, in which the archbishop is represented at the head of his clergy, in a motley dress, half military and half clerical, with the inscription, "The Church Militant." His essential services were acknowledged by government, and, on the death of Dr. Potter in 1747, he was translated to the see of Canterbury. Coincidence of sentiment, and a strong attachment to the Whig cause, occasioned a strict intimacy between the archbishop and Mr. Walpole. They both died in 1757.

Notwithstanding the moral rectitude of this great prelate, and his public and private virtues, he did not escape the malignant satire of Swift. Herring having justly preached against the Beggars' Opera as an immoral piece, which encouraged vice, by making a highway-man the hero, and dismissing him at last unpunished, he was bitterly abused by Swift as a court chaplain, and even as "a stupid, injudicious, and prostitute divine."—Intelligencer, No. 3.

Falstaff, who had been telling lies without number, and without shame, 'You shall see now how a plain tale will put you down.'"

From Dr. Keene, Bishop of Chester.

"May 10, 1755. I return you many thanks for your kind indulgence of the Manuscripts, which I sent by the bearer. It is not to be imagined that one so very pert should have any observations to make on the matter of a composition formed, as my brother speaks of you in his letter, by the Father of politics. And as to the manner of it I think truly that nothing can be more clear and more entertaining; I wish I could see the author against whom it is drawn up, as sincerely shewn to be an ignorant philosopher, and divine, as you have shewn him to be a weak and a wretched politician.

From Lord Barrington.

"SIR, George-street, May 19, 1755.

"I return your papers, accompanied with my best thanks and acknowledgements for the pleasure and instruction I have received by reading them; you have detected the fallacies and fictions of lord Bolingbroke in a manner which admits neither of doubt or reply. I am very impatient for the remaining part of the work; and I hope the publication of it, when finished, will not be delayed. The dangerous poison of lord Bolingbroke requires antidotes; the world

has an immediate right to truths of such importance, and I could wish that no minister of any country (especially of this) might ever negotiate with France till he had carefully perused your account of what passed at Gertruydenburg.

" I am, with great respect, your most, &c,

" BARRINGTON *."

* William Wildman, viscount Barrington, was son and heir of John, first viscount Barrington, of Beckett in the county of Berks, by his wife Anne, daughter and co-heiress of Sir William Daines of Bristol, and one of the representatives in parliament for that city. He was born in 1717, and had a private education, though he manifested a decided predilection to Eton school, by sending thither two of his younger brothers, the late Hon. Daines Barrington, and the present bishop of Durham, who were destined to learned professions, a predilection fully justified by their literary attainments. In the course of his political life, he became successively a lord of the admiralty, master of the great wardrobe, secretary at war, chancellor of the exchequer, and treasurer of the Navy. The distinguished parts of his public character were great official talents, high sense of honour, unimpeached and unsuspected integrity. From his political situation, he had the means to have amassed a considerable fortune; but he died without having either increased or diminished his paternal estate.

CHAPTER 40.

1755.

Ineffectual Endeavours of Mr. Walpole to reconcile the Duke of Newcastle and Mr. Pitt—State of Foreign Affairs—Alliances between England and Prussia, and the Houses of Austria and Bourbon—Contests for the Office of Secretary of State—Resignation of Sir Thomas Robinson, and Appointment of Mr. Fox—Dismission of Mr. Pitt and his Party—Changes in the Administration—Letters of Mr. Walpole to the Lord Chancellor—His Services in Support of Government.

THE king had scarcely departed for Hanover, before the cabals for the seals were renewed with increasing activity. "The duke of Newcastle," as the princess of Wales justly observed, "instead of consulting what was to be done, was struggling who should do it*" He made various attempts to negotiate with the opposite parties, and followed the example of his brother, Mr. Pelham, though without his address, in amusing Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox. At one period the two rival orators seem to have arranged their respective pretensions; Mr. Fox was to be placed at the head of the treasury, and Mr. Pitt to have the seals of secretary of state. But this agree-

* Melcombe's Dairy.

ment was of short duration: Mr. Pitt was incensed, because his rival was admitted into the cabinet, and appointed one of the lords of the regency, and in May declared that to accept the seals from Mr. Fox would be owning his superiority, and that their connection was at an end.

Mr. Walpole was deeply concerned at this fatal struggle between two persons with whom he was equally connected. He had long acted with Mr. Fox in the support of government; he knew his capacity for business, and accommodating temper. In regard to Mr. Pitt, the antipathy arising from his former opposition to the administration of Sir Robert Walpole had wholly subsided; Mr. Walpole appreciated his talents, admired his eloquence, and had strongly enforced, in the closet, the propriety of appointing him to the office of secretary at war. A coincidence of opinion concerning the german subsidies, and the conduct of foreign affairs, had still further cemented their intimacy. He speaks of the great orator, in several of his letters, in high terms of regard and esteem; he submitted to his inspection several memorials and papers, and the answers of Mr. Pitt testify the high opinion which he entertained of Mr. Walpole. Though Mr. Walpole disapproved the virulence of his opposition, yet he consi-

dered him as the only person, who from his independent spirit and energy of character, was capable of over-ruling the wavering counsels of a divided cabinet, and directing the efforts of the nation with vigour and effect in the approaching war with France.

With this prepossession, Mr. Walpole eagerly accepted a commission from the duke of Newcastle, to effect an accommodation with Mr. Pitt: and endeavoured to sooth his inflexible spirit, by apologising for the duke's conduct, and declaring, in his name, that the utmost endeavours had been used to gratify his wishes. Mr. Pitt received the overtures with complacency; but demanded, as a proof of the duke's sincerity, that the proscription which excluded him from the cabinet should be removed, and a promise obtained from the king of the seals in case of a vacancy. Mr. Walpole approved these proposals; but the duke of Newcastle, with his usual versatility, expressed his resentment against Mr. Walpole for exceeding his commission, and agreeing to terms which he was neither willing nor able to grant*.

Mr. Pitt, justly incensed, treated all further overtures with contempt, refused to give his opinion on subjects out of his department, and

* Melcombe's Diary, p. 238-9.

replied to the duke of Newcastle, who consulted him on the means of driving the French from the Ohio; "Your grace knows I have no capacity for these things, and therefore do not desire to be informed of them." He then sounded the partisans of Leicester-house and the Tories; united with Mr. Legge, who was equally of fended; and, before the meeting of parliament, had formed a strong opposition to the measures of government.

Unfortunately the inefficient measures of the cabinet, the disastrous events of the war in America, and the conduct of foreign affairs, furnished sufficient matter for complaint and invective. Foreseeing an inevitable rupture with France, and the approach of a continental war, the great object of the cabinet, before the king's departure for Hanover, was to renew the alliance with Austria, Prussia, and the States, to subsidise Russia and the german princes, and to take hanoverian and hessian troops into pay. Conceiving themselves secure of Austria and the States, the ministers turned their principal attention to obtain the accession of Russia, which was speedily effected by the address and activity of Sir Charles Hanbury Williams, embassador at the court of Petersburgh. They at the same time concluded a treaty with the landgrave of Hesse Cassel, and succeeded, in spite

of the french intrigues, in securing the neutrality of Spain. France, on her side, was not inactive; she gained the elector of Cologne, which opened a passage for her troops into the heart of Germany, and prepared to invade the Low Countries, and the electorate of Hanover, with the hopes of obtaining the co-operation of Prussia.

In this situation of affairs, a sudden revolution took place in the system of european politics. Maria Theresa, retaining her resentment against England for signing the preliminaries of Aix-la-chapelle without her approbation, and suspecting the hostile intentions of Prussia, refused to furnish sufficient troops for the defence of the Low Countries, or to co-operate in protecting the electorate of Hanover, under the pretence of reserving her forces for the security of her own dominions. She also opened a private negotiation with the court of Versailles, which terminated in the union between the houses of Bourbon and Austria*.

The defection of Maria Theresa broke the spell which had so long united England to the house of Austria, and removed, in an instant, the antipathy between George the Second and

* For an account of this negotiation, and the proofs that the house of Austria first broke the long connexion with England, see History of the House of Austria, V. 2, p. 365—373.

the king of Prussia. Frederic himself made overtures, through the duke of Brunswick; and a negotiation, commenced during the king's continuance at Hanover, terminated in a defensive alliance, by which Frederic agreed to prevent the entrance of foreign troops into Germany *.

In consequence of this change of system, the predictions of Mr. Walpole were verified. England was deserted by the electors of Bavaria and Palatine, on whom she had lavished her treasures in time of peace; and Russia refused to abide by the terms of her agreement, under the pretext that she considered herself bound to support the house of Austria, and not the king of Prussia.

Mr. Walpole, after his ineffectual attempts to reconcile the duke of Newcastle and Mr. Pitt, returned to Wolterton, and resumed his literary occupations, particularly his reply to lord Bolingbroke, with a resolution to interfere no more in public affairs. In a letter to lord Royston he observes, "The love of your country, and your great stake, must have since employed your attention to public affairs, in a situation that seems to me extremely delicate, both at home and abroad. Although I know little more than

† Dispatches of the earl of Holdernesse, in Sir Benjamin Keene's Papers.

what I see in the public papers, of ministerial motions and intrigue, and of foreign measures; as an Englishman, I cannot be indifferent to matters of so much consequence to the nation; but as old Horace Walpole, I am so ignorant and useless, that I have no curiosity to be inquisitive about them, which made me once resolve to keep at as great a distance as I could from the stormy weather; but some considerations have, I protest I cannot tell why, determined me at last to be in town about five or ten days before the parliament meets*."

He was induced to take this journey no less from domestic concerns, than from the entreaties of the chancellor, for whom he entertained the highest esteem and veneration, as well from a conviction of his prudence and abilities, as from gratitude for favours recently conferred†.

* Wolterton, Oct. 13, 1755. Hardwicke Papers.

† The chancellor gave a prebend of Bristol to his nephew, Dr. Hammond. It is remarkable, that notwithstanding the great services of his brother, his own uniform support of government, and his numerous friends of the highest weight and consequence, Mr. Walpole could not procure from the crown a prebend for his nephew, but owed his preferment solely to the private friendship of lord Hardwicke. After making this request to the lord chancellor, he adds: "I should not have given your lordship this trouble, but that I am persuaded, although I have lived for many years in a certain intimacy with some of the ministers, never given offence to any of them, nor opposition to their measures, but in speaking my thoughts to some of them in private on certain occa-

He had, in the preceding summer, conveyed to the chancellor, assurances from the duke of Devonshire, that he would transfer to his lordship the confidence which he had reposed in Mr. Pelham, and would, on all occasions, support the measures which he recommended.

The dread of an approaching opposition, from the union of Mr. Pitt, the Grenvilles, and Mr. Legge, with the Tories and Leicester-house party, rendered Mr. Walpole's presence necessary, as well for his support in parliament, as for his interposition to conciliate the duke of Devonshire, who was highly dissatisfied with the subsidiary treaties of Russia and Hesse Cassel. But it required all the influence of the chancellor to overcome the repugnance of Mr. Walpole, who equally disapproved the treaty with Russia, and expressed his disapprobation in a strong remonstrance.

Mr. Walpole to Lord Chancellor Hardwicke.*

"The popularity, ease, and service of the king, the interest of this country, your own

sions, purely with a view for his majesty's and their service, I am considered as a person of so little consequence, and so very unfashionable at court, that I cannot flatter myself with hopes of being able to serve any friend or relation, (although, perhaps, the world does not think so,) by an application for any thing directly in the name of the crown; and therefore, my lord, you will pardon the liberty taken by him who has ever been, and ever shall be, with the greatest attachment and respect, &c."—Cockpit, July 26, 1753. Hardwicke Papers.

* Hardwicke Papers.

honour and credit as a principal minister of state, my particular attachment to your lordship in that quality, as well as my great obligations to your friendship, all these considerations force me to break the resolution I had once taken, never more to concern myself directly or indirectly in public affairs, and to recommend most earnestly to your lordship, if it is not too late, to oppose the conclusion of a subsidiary treaty for troops with the court of Russia. Such a measure, I am terribly afraid, notwithstanding the present affection which his majesty so deservedly and universally enjoys among his people, will be entertained with the utmost dislike by the well-affected as well as the *frondeurs* and the disaffected, as what will be vastly expensive, and cannot, in any sense, be of service or security to Great Britain. I hope I may depend upon your lordship's honour not to communicate this liberty, as coming from me, to any soul living, and that your usual indulgence will pardon this well-meant, though perhaps mistaken presumption, of him who is, with the most inviolable attachment, and affectionate respect, my lord, &c."

To this letter the lord chancellor wrote a confidential answer, in which he laid open the state of affairs, explained the cabals for the seals, earnestly desired Mr. Walpole's attendance in parliament, and solicited his interposition to

remove the dissatisfaction of the duke of Devonshire. He also delivered a kind message from the king. This interesting letter is lost; but Mr. Walpole's answer is fortunately preserved:

"MY LORD, Norwich, Sept. 29, 1755*.

"I am honoured with your lordship's letter of the 25th instant. I am sure I shall not abuse your confidence in me, by communicating to any person living what has passed between us. I heartily wish that the difficulties which have obstructed the conclusion of the russian treaty, may entirely defeat that measure, for the reasons in my former letter. I had, when my friend Mr. Hanbury† was last in England, some discourse with him upon foreign affairs; his lively imagination was supported with such a flow of eloquence, and his conclusions were so quick, decisive and infallible, that my little common sense could not keep pace with so great a genius. One would have thought, by his ideas, that this country is one continued mine of gold, to be come at with ease, and, with a trifle of subsidies, 40 or 50,000 Russians, by his magic pen, might in an instant be wafted to any part of Europe for his majesty's service, either as king or elector. I gave him to understand that his

* Hardwicke Papers.

† Afterwards well known as Sir Charles Hanbury Williams.

political system moved in a sphere out of the reach of my comprehension.

"In short, my lord, if this extravagantly expensive (as the papers represent it) treaty was but out of the way, I should hope that things would be made much more easy in parliament; for I think it was a right measure to engage the Hessians in our service, to supply, as our standing forces are not sufficient, if necessary, (upon any design from France to make a descent in this island,) the number of troops which the States by treaty are obliged, but dare not, were they willing, to send to our assistance. But as to the Russians, the excessive price we paid for 16,000 in 1747, who marched no farther than to Livonia, and again for 30,000 in 1748, for the service of the common cause, who could not have got into Flanders by most diligent marches, before France (if she had not unexpectedly given us a peace,) would have been mistress of the continent, was a measure extremely unpopular, and, if I remember right, made Mr. Pelham's heart ache. If afterwards he came into this measure, I was (before your lordship told it me) an entire stranger to it; it seems not agreeable to his notions, who was an enemy, although by degrees he complied, to the useless subsidiary treaties made for the choice of a king of the Romans, which I am afraid will be remembered,

although not by me, in a disagreeable manner, the approaching sessions.

"Some orators will be for or against the Russians, if we must have them, as they shall be satisfied or dissatisfied in their aspiring views. One* will oppose, as thinking the unpopularity of continental measures will add great weight to his superior eloquence, although otherwise he has not that influence among the Whigs that he vainly imagines. Another†, if cordially discontented, will perhaps be publicly silent, as not being in a condition to hazard the losing the place he at present enjoys, but he will be privately busy. A third‡, who is now in great circumstances, and has credit among the *old corps* in parliament, seems, by having refused to sign the warrant for the Hessians, to have taken his plea to be against all foreign subsidies. I could have wished he had been better managed in his station, which he has shewn in the house he is capable of discharging in a masterly way.

"I look upon these three as a triumvirate that are determined enemies to the duke of Newcastle, and although not together in a concert, meditate a personal attack against his grace in some shape or other; and it is upon this plan

* Mr. Pitt. † Mr. Fox.

‡ Mr. Legge, by his marriage in 1750, with Mary, daughter and heiress of Edward, fourth lord Stawel.

that I imagine Mr. Pitt is become, which I am sorry for, so untractable. But if one of these, whose unmeasurable ambition is the only measure of his principles and actions, can be satisfied, the others, as your lordship has observed, will certainly be the dupe.

"I am afraid your intelligence of the duke of Devonshire being in his opinion strongly against the Russians is but too true; for he has long since (considering the miserable and defenceless condition of the States, and the selfish and impracticable behaviour of the court of Vienna,) looked upon continental schemes, as what would answer no end, but to increase our immense debt, by degrees render his majesty and his family unpopular; but that his grace has spoken with great strength against the Russians, knowing his caution and reservedness, I can scarce believe. I think it by no means proper for me to write to his grace upon that subject. I believe, by a letter I received from him some time since, that he intends to be in town against the meeting of the parliament.

"I cannot conclude this letter without expressing my sense of his majesty's goodness, in thinking me at all worthy of his notice. I had been under his displeasure; I can't tell for what reason, nor by what means, being conscious that I never said any thing, either privately or

publicly, that was not meant for his service, without any selfish view, and, I believe, would have proved so, had my notions been regarded.

"I shall trouble your lordship with nothing more, hoping you will excuse this, besides letting you know, as you seemed to desire it, that I propose to be in town on Friday the 7th of November, ready, in the mean time, to receive your farther commands, being, with the most unalterable attachment and respect, my lord, &c."

"P. S. Since writing what goes before, I have received from Mr. Fox an account that he is to be appointed secretary of state. I must own I could not read the letter without smiling; the consequence of the rupture of a triumvirate among the Romans usually ended in a civil war between the contending parties for power."

On his arrival in town, Mr. Walpole was beset by the ministers. The same evening he had a long and confidential interview with the chancellor, who gave him a full, clear, and explicit detail of the state of foreign and domestic affairs since the king's departure for Hanover. He explained the situation of parties in the house of commons, and causes of the new arrangements; and prevailed on him to give his support to government in this important

crisis, and to use his interposition with the duke of Devonshire.

On the ensuing day the duke of Newcastle himself waited on Mr. Walpole; but not finding him at home, appointed a meeting in the afternoon, at the house of lord Holdernesse. "I found him," writes Mr. Walpole to the chancellor*, "as he always is, in a great hurry; but to supply the want of time for a long conference, he put into my hands a large provision of confidential papers, for my perusal at home, which I began to read last night, and I hope to go through this morning, although I find them in a great manner unnecessary, after the clear, full, and explicit detail your lordship has been pleased to give me before, relating to persons and things, from the time that his majesty went abroad to the present great critical situation. However, I had with his grace an irregular and scattered medley of discourse, that touched upon the most essential points.

"But what I was most earnest upon, being what I have most at heart, as of the greatest moment of all, was of the intended conduct of Sir G. L—† in parliament, the foundation of which is of such a nature, and the sore is so

* Cockpit, Nov. 6, 1755. Hardwicke Papers.

† Dr. now Sir George Lee, the chief of the Leicester-house party, who at this time threatened a violent opposition in parliament.

deep and dangerous, that I apprehend it will be attended with consequences fatal to the king's affairs, to his own ease and health, and indeed to us all, if some remedy be not found to obviate and prevent it. It has, I can assure your lordship, kept my mind in great agitation, and even in torture, ever since I saw you, though, thank God! my health is good, and my spirits, though ruffled, not dismayed."

It appears, that a disgust at the violence of opposition, in so dangerous a juncture as the unfortunate commencement of the war with France, principally induced Mr. Walpole to support the subsidiary treaty with Russia, and to use his influence with the duke of Devonshire to concur in the same object. He accordingly prepared his grace for a conference with the lord chancellor, in whom alone, among the ministry, the duke reposed implicit confidence. In consequence of his interposition, and the arguments of the chancellor, the prepossessions of the duke were removed, and he agreed to give his support to government.

On the 13th of November the session was opened, and the opposition to the address, as well as to the treaties, in subsequent debates, was extremely vigorous and well supported. On the side of the minority Mr. Pitt and Mr. Legge particularly distinguished themselves;

but the numbers in their favour were not so great as was expected*.

The new arrangements were soon declared. Mr. Fox at length gained his favourite object; he became secretary of state, and Mr. Pitt, who refused to act a subordinate part, and entered into opposition, was dismissed; the seals of chancellor of the exchequer were taken from Mr. Legge; the Grenvilles were removed, and the whole family phalanx united with the Tories and the partisans of Leicester-house. Sir George Lyttleton was appointed chancellor of the exchequer, lord Barrington secretary at war, Mr. Doddington treasurer of the navy, and Mr. Furnes, another of the late prince's adherents, was made a lord of the treasury; the

* For referring the treaties to a committee, 126 noes against 318 ayes; when the report of the committee was presented, 69 against 263. Speaking of this debate and division, which took place on the 15th, Mr. Digby, in a letter to Sir Charles Hanbury Williams, observes: "There was little new in this debate; but Mr. Murray made an extreme fine speech, with a great deal of argument, which Mr. Pitt answered with a great deal of wit. When we came to divide, the noes went forth; but Mr. Pitt, Mr. Legge, and Mr. Townshend staid talking till the door was shut; so, after some dispute with the speaker, they were obliged to stay and be told with us, which occasioned a second division upon the hessian treaty. The numbers in the first division were 263 to 69; in the second we were 259 to 72; so you see your treaties are approved by a very large majority, notwithstanding they were so much abused without doors. We have had nothing in parliament since worth speaking of; and now we hear of nothing but the disposal of places." Whitehall, Dec. 23, 1755.

duke of Newcastle continued at the head of administration, and the same inefficient measures were still pursued with the same ill success.

The russian treaty, which had occasioned so much ill-will, was rendered null by the alliance with Prussia; and the empress, alienated by the impolitic † conduct of the british ministry, and her personal dislike to Frederic, was induced to join France and Austria against Prussia, our only powerful ally on the continent. The unpopularity of the new administration was increased by the loss of Minorca; but the public clamours were diverted by the trial and execution of admiral Byng, and the zeal of the nation roused by the dread of a french invasion. The most liberal supplies of men and money were granted for the vigorous prosecution of the war, and the hessian and hanoverian troops, in default of the forces refused by the states, were called in to defend the country; a measure which, though dictated by necessity, became a new source of obloquy.

† "Whilst the court of Vienna," writes Sir Joshua Vanneck to lord Walpole, "was in a treaty with France, they had the good policy, I mean the queen of Hungary, to communicate the progress to the empress of Russia, and our policy was to conceal that with Prussia to the very last, which, no doubt, is the cause of this misunderstanding, on the consequence of which the solidity of our new alliance with Prussia will entirely depend." July 20, 1756.

CHAPTER 41.

1755—1756.

Mr. Walpole strenuously supports the Militia Bill—Created a Peer—Congratulatory Letter from Archbishop Herring, and his Reply—Prevents the Corporation of Norwich from joining in the Addresses to the King on the Loss of Minorca.

IN this session Mr. Walpole warmly promoted an object of great national importance, the establishment of a permanent military force for the internal defence of the country; although it was introduced by the great leader of opposition, and counteracted by government.

Since the accession of the house of Brunswick, the defence of the kingdom, in time of peace, had been intrusted to the standing army; and in cases of emergency, when the regular force was insufficient, dutch troops had been introduced: all attempts to re-establish a national militia, on the same tenure as it existed during the reign of Charles the Second, had been frustrated by the repugnance of the court. A militia bill had been occasionlly brought into parliament, and though usually suffered to pass, secretly defeated, under various pretences, and never carried into execution. During the

rebellion of 1745, however, a partial muster took place in the maritime counties, and was found so serviceable, that a general muster was proposed, as a measure calculated to obviate the necessity of calling in the assistance of the hanoverian and hessian troops, in consequence of the refusal of the Dutch to supply their stipulated contingent.

With this view, Mr. Pitt moved* for the establishment of a committee to consider the state of the militia laws. Although this motion passed unanimously, yet the "Act for the better Ordering of the Militia Forces," was not introduced till March 12, and not finally sent up to the house of lords until the 10th of May. In this interval the king informed the house, that, in consequence of the danger of an impending invasion, he had made a requisition for a body of hessian troops to be transported into England in pursuance of the late treaty. This message was not only answered by warm and affectionate addresses from both houses; but, in consequence of a motion by Mr. Fox, his majesty was also requested to order an immediate embarkation of twelve battalions of electoral troops.

Notwithstanding this resolution, which evinc-

* Dec. 8, 1755.

ed the intention of the court to defeat the militia bill, Mr. Walpole continued his support, and wrote two sensible letters to lord Hardwicke*, to deprecate its rejection in the house of lords.

"MY LORD, Cockpit, April 4, 1756.

"Your lordship, having been pleased to allow me the liberty to trouble you with my notions on some occasions, will, I hope, excuse my doing it in a matter of importance, which is now depending in the house of commons; I mean the Militia Bill. Whether it is formed upon the most perfect plan, or is very correctly drawn, I do not pretend to judge; yet, sure I am, it is become a very popular and plausible object, among those who are best affected to this government. I think the Tories in general, although some few are engaged in the conduct of it, do not approve it extremely; but the considerable persons who moved and earnestly supported the questions for bringing over the Hessians and Hanoverians, expressed themselves as looking upon our calling in foreign strength to be indeed a necessary but a temporary support only, in this perilous situation, until a more natural and national defence, against all dangerous emergencies to the public, could be formed and made serviceable. And they par-

* Hardwicke Papers.

ticularly mentioned the militia, as what might be usual at this present juncture, as well as in all future troublesome times, by acting under proper directions in concert with the standing regular forces. All those in our house who are firmly attached to the present measures, have testified their desire of having a militia established upon some plan like that of the present bill; and the ministers then declared their sentiments very prudently in favour of it, or otherwise I believe they would have met with more difficulty in carrying the questions for a foreign assistance.

"But it is reported, my lord, that this bill, when passed in our own house, is to be dropt in your lordship's. I heartily wish that, before such a resolution is taken among those who have the confidence and conduct of affairs, the consequences of it may be seriously weighed; for I apprehend it may occasion a great deal of ill humour and clamour, industriously fomented and propagated, not only by the pretended Patriots in opposition, but even by the Tories, who do not approve the present plan, as if there was a design to keep the foreign troops here longer than the defence of their country may require it; and such disagreeable surmises of ill purposes intended, may be scattered among the people, against the administration, as may

make a bad impression upon their minds. * * * * * * *"

"MY LORD, Cockpit, April 26, 1756.

"I suppose your lordship, during your recess, may have fully considered the Militia Bill, and very likely have found many imperfections in it, that may render the execution of it difficult should it pass into a law.

"The power given to three or more commissaries of the land-tax, without a suitable qualification, to act jointly with two deputy lieutenants, who are to have 600*l.* per annum, in all meetings after the second general meeting relating to the fitness of persons to serve from time to time in the militia, will, I apprehend, so disgust the deputy lieutenants, as they may be constantly over-ruled by a majority of persons of mean rank and fortune, that they will refuse to meet and act with them.

"But let that or other material objections be ever so weighty, I am still of opinion, having talked with several persons of high and low degree, from different quarters, all well affected to the administration, that if this bill, after it has passed, as I believe it will, without opposition in our house, be flung out of your lordship's, it will have very disagreeable effects, to the prejudice of the ministry; for, in that case, however disliked it may be at present by many

of different principles, it will be sounded as a most popular and desirable scheme in all places. In our circumstances and situation, some such thing is absolutely necessary and wanted, will be the cry, not only of all those that are ill, but of many, very many who are well disposed. It may not be perfect, but it may be mended hereafter; there can be no harm in making a trial; and the supposed motives for not making the trial will be represented in the most odious colours against those that are thought to have the chief conduct of affairs, as having in view other means, not at all constitutional, for the defence of this country in great exigencies.

" It has got abroad, that lord Chesterfield's opinion against the bill has much prevailed in a certain place. I have a great respect for the sentiments of that ingenious nobleman; but, if I am rightly informed of his objections, there seems not to be the least foundation in it for the dangerous consequences he apprehends. 'Tis said too, that the lord president* will oppose warmly the passing it: It does not become me to surmise what that lord's reasons may be, not having talked with him on that subject; but the peers, who are to have the chief hand in flinging it out, as it is reported, are lord

* Earl Granville.

Ray——d and Mar——t. It will hardly be believed, my lord, that the first does not act by the influence of the court; and whether the last does or not, I will not presume to guess; but his chief reason, as I am told, for its not passing now is, that it may be necessary to see first whether a militia bill of the same nature may not be extended to Scotland, to make the defence of the whole kingdom at once uniform; but I have learnt from other great and sensible noblemen of North Britain, that, according to their constitution, it is an absurd and impracticable idea.

" In short, my lord, if the strength against the bill is suffered to prevail in your house, let it come from what quarter it will, those that have the management of affairs, whether right or wrong, will, I am afraid, incur a censure not easy to remove. The clamour will indeed be great, and this is not a time to give an occasion for clamour, if, as I apprehend, we shall hear but too soon of the taking of Minorca by the French; the loss of that island will be attended with consequences that will affect this nation in the most sensible part. * * * * * *"

Notwithstanding these sensible remonstrances, the chancellor himself spoke against the bill in the house of lords; and it was rejected by a majority, of 59 to 23.

The conduct of Mr. Walpole reflects high honour on his integrity; as he at this time solicited a peerage, and was aware that his opinion militated against the sentiments of the court. During the administration of his brother, Mr. Walpole had repeatedly declined a peerage, and never entertained any desire of acquiring that distinction until the marriage of his son with the daughter of the duke of Devonshire. The recollection of his brother's services, his own merit and uniform support of government, and his connection with the house of Cavendish, fully intitled him to that distinction; but the manly freedom with which he combated the continental politics was sufficient to provoke a temper less irritable than that of the king; and his bitter censure of the measures pursued by administration, excited the resentment of the duke of Newcastle. The important services, however, which he rendered, in giving his support to government during the last session of parliament, the zeal of his friend lord Hardwicke, and the influence of the Cavendish party, finally overcame the repugnance of the king; and he was elevated to the peerage, by the title of baron Walpole of Wolterton, on the 1st of June 1756.

His new dignity did not influence his judgment, or restrain his frankness; for in a letter

to lord Hardwicke, the day before his departure for Wolterton, he expatiated on the state of the kingdom with the same manly freedom as before.

" MY LORD, Cockpit, June 20, 1756.

" As I propose to set out early to-morrow morning with my family, for a long retirement into the country, from the active scene of business in town, where I am sensible I can be of no service; if no opportunity can offer after this day to take my leave of your lordship in person, I hope you will accept, in this manner, of my sincere acknowledgements for the many favours you have from time to time conferred upon me, with my most ardent prayers for your health and prosperity in the long enjoyment of your high station. It is absolutely necessary for the publick weal, in these doubtful and perilous times, such as I never before remember to have happened to this exhausted, divided, and distracted nation. I beg leave to add, that wherever I shall be until I cease to be, I shall retain a remembrance of your lordship's goodness to me; and remain with the most affectionate regard," &c.

Lord Walpole received, from different quarters, many letters of congratulation on his new dignity; but none, perhaps, impressed him with greater satisfaction than those from lord chan-

cellor Hardwicke, and his venerable friend archbishop Herring.

The Earl of Hardwicke to Lord Walpole.

Powis House, June 20, 1756.

" MY DEAR LORD,

" I return your lordship a thousand thanks for your very kind letter, and am very sorry that my being detained in the chair of the British Museum, till past twelve o'clock last night, hindered my waiting upon you, as I hoped to have done. I am particularly engaged this morning; and on Sunday evenings am expected to be found at home: so that I fear I shall scarce be able to have that honour before you go out of town.

" Permit me, therefore, to take this way of repeating my most cordial congratulations on your promotion to the peerage, from which I do most heartily wish and augur every thing prosperous to your lordship and your family. I am infinitely obliged to you for your kind wishes. I lament the situation of the public as much as any person in the world; and lament also how little use I can be of to it. One thing we may all do some good by, I mean by endeavouring to correct the madness of the people for war, and instilling gradually a disposition for peace.

" Your lordship talks of a long retirement, and I sincerely wish you all possible health and

enjoyment in it; but notwithstanding that, I hope you intend to favour us with your good company next winter: and flatter myself that, upon reflection, you will think it right to do so.

"Once more let me wish your lordship all happiness, and a very good journey; and assure you that you do not leave behind you any one who is with greater truth and affection, my dear lord," &c.

The Archbishop of Canterbury to Lord Walpole.

"MY LORD, Croydon House, June 14, 1756.

"It is high time for me, from reasons of common civility, give me leave to say, *à fortiori*, from those of friendship, to give your lordship joy of the king's favour to you, which I do with the heart of a friend. On that account I shall study no elaborate compliments. You are a servant of the public, I had like to have said an old one; and honour naturally attends upon public virtues. I would have waited upon your lordship long before now, but my bad health confines me at home, where I am only fit for a little domestic conversation, and hardly, not always, fit for that.

"If I had been able to have waited upon your lordship, it would have been a visit of condolence only; we should naturally have run into a picture of our sad circumstances. For while an Englishman has any heart left in him, it

must go to the quick to see the activity and success of our inveterate enemies, and the prospect all at once of an invasion at home, or the ruinous and expensive fear of it; our best forts taken, and the guardians made prisoners of war; our fleets slow, and, when they come at the point of defence, inactive, through a dastardly timidity; the continent of North America in imminent danger; and the Leeward Islands, a great resource of our wealth, in a manner undefended, at least so represented by the merchants.

"I wish to God these reflections were only *ægri somnia:* but I doubt they are too well founded; and this summer bears the face of gloom and darkness in the natural as well as political world. The distress is apparently so great, that we cannot avoid putting a solemn question in very solemn words: Who is sufficient for these things? All the heads, and all the best hearts in the nation, are little enough to steer the vessel in such agitated seas as these are. But my pen grows impertinent; I shall detain you no longer than to assure you, that I am, with perfect esteem and truth," &c.

These remarks were in unison with the feelings of Lord Walpole, and drew from him some observations on public affairs, equally desponding.

" MY DEAR LORD, Cockpit, June 19, 1756,

" The motives of friendship, of which I have often had great proofs from your grace, and concern for the public, which you have served with so much credit and veneration in your high station, have made me long solicitous about your grace's health. I have often enquired after it of those whose more immediate connection and acquaintance with you gave them opportunities of being best informed: I proposed to have waited upon your grace in person this week, before I should retire into the country, which will be the beginning of the next, but I learnt that a visit, in your situation, could not have been very comfortable to one who has always had such an unvariable and affectionate attachment to your grace. But, if we were both in perfect health, the aspect of public affairs, both at home and abroad, is so dismal that the meeting of two Englishmen that have their king, their country, and the protestant religion and liberty at heart, would be rather a scene of lamentation than joy.

" The royal family, whose union, for their own, as well as the preservation of the subjects, is so necessary, especially at this critical juncture, is unhappily divided; and I am afraid the cordiality of our counsellors at the helm is not the most sincere towards one another: Sedition,

from unfortunate events, raises her snaky crest, and ambitious Opposition will soon march in triumph. The prospect of getting out of this terrible state is far, very far, out of sight; we cannot be long in a condition, standing entirely alone, to measure our weapons with the most formidable power in Europe, who is a match for all the other potentates together. We are not able to carry on the war, nor can we tell how to make peace. If we should now attempt the latter, it must be a bad one, and I am afraid two years hence it will be worse. In short, my lord, we are embarked in a noble vessel, once the envy of all Europe, but now without ballast or steerage; the sails and rigging are so worn out and shattered as to be of no service, and I can't see how it can possibly weather the contrary winds and tempests that threaten it.

"But, sunk in the depth of melancholy reflections, I forget to return your grace thanks for your kind congratulations upon the honour which his majesty has been pleased to confer on me and my family, an honour flowing entirely from his own good will; I pretend to claim no other merit from my endeavours to discharge my duty with zeal and fidelity in various stations, but what my partial friends are disposed to infer from such a distinguishing mark of royal favour to my advantage.

"I have, indeed, been an old servant to the crown; it is now fifty years since I was at Gibraltar, a witness to the incredible alacrity and expedition of that great man, lord Torrington, (then Sir G. Byng,) to sail for the relief of Barcelona. Would to God the son had followed the father's example with regard to Port Mahon! The consequences of that place falling into the hands of France are so many, and so bad, that I cannot bear to torment your grace, very unpleasantly, too long; but you will pardon him who, with the sincerest prayers for your recovery of a better state of health, and the preservation of so valuable a life, is, with most affectionate respect, &c."

During his retirement in Norfolk, lord Walpole was actively employed in supporting the principle of the Militia Bill, and combating the opinions of those gentlemen in the county by whom it was opposed. His correspondence on this subject, which is still preserved, is equally distinguished by candour and zeal, and proves that his judgment was not impaired by the infirmities of age.

Although he thus firmly supported a great national object, however inimical to the views of the court, and did not intermit, in his private correspondence with lord Hardwicke, his censures on the inefficient measures of administra-

tion; yet he was invariably an enemy to petulant opposition. He highly disapproved the addresses to the king, which, during the ferment on the loss of Minorca, poured in from all quarters. He also prevented the corporation of Norwich from following the example, by a strong memorial, representing the indecency of such a proceeding, and the injustice of clamouring against administration, before an impartial inquiry could take place. This memorial was communicated by the mayor to the corporation, though not in lord Walpole's name, and had the desired effect. It made also a deep impression on the chancellor, who requested him to print it, which lord Walpole declined, on account of the disadvantage it might occasion to his interests at Norwich, for the representation of which city his son, Mr. Thomas Walpole, was at this time a candidate*.

The sensible and manly letter of lord Walpole to the mayor of Norwich ought not to be withheld from the public, because it contains many just arguments against the factious spirit which too often dictates addresses and instructions to parliamentary representatives.

* Mr. Walpole's letters to lord Royston, September 10, and to lord Hardwicke, October 2, 1756. Hardwicke Papers.

" SIR, Sept. 1, 1756.

" I have received your favour of the 27th past, with the list of the grand jury, and an account of what is said to have passed in that assembly, relating to an address to the king and instructions to their representatives. I can see no necessity for either. I can perceive by the expressions of several of these applications that are printed, that a spirit of disaffection to the government, by a coalition of some that are discontented for private views, makes use of the calamitous situation of public affairs to inflame and increase the uneasiness of the people at a juncture when all hearts and hands should be united to support his majesty, who so justly deserves it, and enable him to overcome these misfortunes, and the powerful efforts of so great and formidable an enemy in our neighbourhood. *The events of war*, as his majesty says in answer to the London address, *are uncertain*, and if the enemy have gained an advantage of very bad consequences to this nation, chiefly owing, according to appearances, to the shameful behaviour of an officer, we are not to suppose immediately, that those who have the management of affairs are the authors of a great national misfortune, either by treachery or neglect, until the result of an inquiry, made in a proper place and in a proper manner, be seen, which inquiry ought to

be made, and there seems to be no reason to doubt but it will. Before that is done, it is hardly possible for a public body to tell the king in a public way, with decency, that his councils and measures for maintaining the possessions and rights of his crown and people (which it is well known his majesty has always had much at heart) are to be censured or suspected. If at the time and in the place when and where these councils and measures are and ought to be canvassed, any irregular obstruction from above should be made to check or stifle such an inquiry, or any sinister art, or undue endeavours should be used to skreen or protect from justice those, of what rank or quality soever they may be, who by a legal proceeding may have been found guilty of high crimes and misdemeanours against their king and country, then it may be proper for the corporate bodies of great cities, for grand juries and justices of the peace, at the assizes or sessions, to enter into these matters of state by address to the crown, that the honour of the nation may be vindicated, and the great offenders punished. But national misfortunes from a war in defence of national rights, however great and calamitous they may be, do not immediately imply á ministerial mismanagement, or a criminal conduct of the public affairs, and therefore a premature applica-

tion to the crown, which carries such an imputation, previous to a proper and legal inquiry, cannot be just. It may increase and mislead the fury of the multitude by wrong and mistaken notions, but can have no good effect at present to redress the grievances, and to recover what the nation has lost, which must be done by a fair inquiry, and a dispassionate union of honest men, that have no other meaning or view than the true interest of their country. Such an application to the king, which can answer no salutary end to the public, may be taken in a sense, which his majesty's known protection of his people and their rights, does by no means deserve, and which many of those who are unwarily led into it, may not intend; as if he was called upon so hastily and earnestly before the matter came judicially before him, from an imagination that he might otherwise be backward *to do justice upon any persons that should be wanting in their duty to him and their country,* as he is pleased to express himself in his most gracious answer to the London address. And what makes the step more unbecoming and unnecessary is, that his majesty has already shewn an instance of his disposition to do justice, in a case relative to this unhappy affair of Minorca; for although the court martial after they had found general Fowke guilty

of a breach of orders, only suspended him for a year, his majesty thought it a crime of so much importance to the nation as to deserve a much greater punishment, and caused him to be absolutely discharged from his service.

"An example set by the great metropolis of this nation has been often followed, though not always perhaps the best example to follow; because there have been times when that corporate body has not been composed of members the best affected to our present happy establishment. I do not say that is the case at present; but I have been told that two of their aldermen, of the most undoubted loyalty and attachment to his majesty's service and government, and the most instrumental in the services done for that city in parliament, would not concur in this precipitate zeal with their brethren; that Sir John Bar—d declared publicly against it, and Sir William Cal—t strongly opposed it, in their court. They were not appointed to be of the committee to draw up the address, nor would they attend at Kensington in presenting it, purely, as I imagine, out of respect to his majesty, looking upon it as neither a proper nor decent occasion to approach the throne.

"I cannot think that the taking notice of any Militia besides that which is already established by law, which the king can order out when he

pleases, can be a proper object for an address of particular bodies to the crown; because his majesty can do nothing with regard to any new scheme of a Militia, until it has passed both houses of parliament. No man was more zealous than myself in endeavouring to get it through them both, and that the chief authors of it know very well, although liable to several objections, in order to try the experiment of procuring such a national defence; but his majesty cannot interfere or have any thing to do in this national concern, until brought before him for his royal assent. But what I observe is, that this ingredient in the publick applications seems to be expressed in a manner not so much calculated to promote this new plan of a domestic defence, as with a view to censure that seasonable and salutary measure in getting over some foreign protestant assistance, at a time when the Militia Bill had not yet passed the house of commons, and at a time that, supposing it had passed into a law, the carrying it into execution, the arming, regulating, and disciplining such raw and unexperienced corps, could not possibly have been compassed in a great while. And it was, before this new defence was set on foot, well known that our formidable neighbour was making great preparations to invade this country. The disposition

indeed of our fleets had kept the ememy greatly in awe, but if an opportunity had offered, as the winds might happen to serve their views, and at the same time prevent our ships from getting to sea, and they had landed a considerable force before the arrival of the Hessians and Hanoverians, in some parts of this island, where no resistance could have been made, and no succours have been sent to their assistance without exposing the capital, God knows what might have been the fate of this country. And yet this wise and necessary measure for our security, under colour of recommending a well regulated Militia, (which no body is against, if it can be timely and properly established) is to be represented in some of these popular addresses or instructions *as an inglorious aid of foreign mercenaries*, which shews the malignant spirit of such applications masked with the plausible cry of demanding justice to be done to the authors of our misfortunes; a spirit that it is to be hoped no set of men that are well affected to this government, and are desirous to have justice done in a legal way, will countenance, much less imitate in any degree.

" As to instructions from constituents to their representatives in parliament, with respect to matters of state, the house of commons is certainly the great inquest of the nation in one

whole body; and when any member is chosen for a county or borough, he is a representative concerned for the whole nation, and not for the county or the borough for which he is chosen; and all enquiries into grievances must be made upon that general foot, without regard to particular instructions from any one place. When he is elected by his constituents, they, by that election, repose an entire confidence in him to act according to his own judgment or discretion, for the good of the whole, as long as he is a member; but the opinion of his behaviour will determine them to chuse him or not at a new election. The constituents may indeed desire their respective members to prefer a petition to the house, or to promote or oppose an affair depending in parliament, as what may be for or against the interest of the county or borough they represent, and it will and ought to have its due weight; but this, surely, has nothing to do with matters of state, which must take their rise from the king and his council, upon motives that cannot possibly be within the cognizance of the nation in general, and therefore cannot properly fall under the considerations of the economical part of government. When, in the administration of public affairs, events happen of dangerous consequence to the nation, the representative body of the

people ought to make an inquiry into them, in order to have the misfortunes redressed, and the criminal authors of them punished; but warm instructions from constituents to their representatives, without any light into the true causes of things, which they cannot possibly have from public rumour or clamour, are improper, because they may be founded in ignorance or in ill designs.

"These are my notions relating to the proceedings in some bodies, on account of the present unfortunate state of affairs, which, if you think it worth while, you may communicate, in confidence, to my friend the mayor, and some other particular friend, as the sentiments of their late old and faithful servant, who, upon known and steady principles, has ever acted one uniform part, in support of our present happy establishment, without the least deviation through peevishness and disappointed views."

CHAPTER 42.

1756—1757.

Resignation of the Duke of Newcastle and Mr. Fox—Arrangement of the New Administration—Mr. Pitt Secretary of State—Lord Walpole's Letter to Lord Hardwicke on his Resignation—Illness, Death and Character of Lord Walpole—Marriage, Family, and Genealogical Table of his Descendants.

NOTWITHSTANDING the aversion of lord Walpole to remove from Wolterton, and his increasing infirmities, he deemed his attendance in parliament an essential duty. Soon after his arrival in London, he was a witness to the change of administration, which was arranged before the meeting of parliament. The duke of Newcastle, who had so long directed the helm of government, was compelled to retire, and his place filled by William, fourth duke of Devonshire*, who inherited the sound sense and integrity, as well as the honours of his father. Notwithstanding the repugnance of George the Second, Mr. Pitt received the seals of secretary of state, on the resignation of Mr. Fox; and his relations, the Grenvilles, were again placed in administration.

* William, the third duke of Devonshire, died in Dec. 1755.

This sudden change was occasioned by a disagreement in the ministry, principally arising from the official jealousy of the duke of Newcastle, and hastened by the clamours of the nation for the ill success of the war.

Lord Walpole was, at this period, too infirm and retired to take any part in these contests; but, if we recollect his high opinion of Mr. Pitt, and consider that the administration had been arranged under the auspices of his noble friend the duke of Devonshire, we have no reason to conclude that he deprecated the change. If he felt any concern, it was for the resignation of his friend lord Hardwicke, to whom he sent a manly letter of condolence, which displays his esteem and gratitude:

"MY LORD, Cockpit, Nov. 20, 1756.

"Although I desired this morning my friend, Mr. John Yorke, to make your lordship my compliments, perhaps I might say of joy, with respect to your lordship's own ease; but the greatest concern in a national view, on your retirement from all business; yet, to avoid the least imputation of ingratitude, from private as well as public considerations, I take the liberty to address myself directly to your lordship, and to join in the general lamentations of persons of every rank, party and distinction whatsoever, at the irreparable loss which our king and country

must suffer by your lordship's resignation of your great offices, and shall endeavour very soon to wait upon your lordship, with my personal assurances, of being, what I have been for so many years, and what I shall ever be, with the greatest attachment and regard, &c."

The new administration, from which the duke of Newcastle was excluded, was of temporary duration; the king's antipathy to Mr. Pitt was increased by his opposition to the plan of continental warfare, in which he was joined by Mr. Legge. In consequence of his refusal to allow a sum of money not exceeding 100,000*l.* for the german war, the duke of Cumberland declined the command of the army unless Mr. Pitt was removed: he was accordingly dismissed on the 5th of April, together with lord Temple and Mr. Legge. The king made several ineffectual attempts to form new arrangements; and the administration would have experienced the same fluctuation as it had undergone since the death of Mr. Pelham, had not a coalition fortunately taken place between Leicester-house, the duke of Newcastle, Mr. Pitt, and the Tories. This combination was too strong to be resisted; and the king, notwithstanding his repugnance to acquiesce in the dictates of the new court, was compelled to accept a new administration, formed by the union of all parties.

In the commencement of July 1757, the administration was established on this broad basis. The duke of Newcastle was again placed at the head of the treasury; Mr. Pitt and Mr. Legge resumed their respective posts; and lord Temple and Mr. Pitt's other friends came into office. At the repeated refusal of lord Hardwicke to occupy his former station, Sir Robert Henley, an adherent of Leicester-house, had the Great Seal, and Mr. Fox accepted the subordinate place of paymaster of the forces.

From this period commenced that brilliant æra, justly called Mr. Pitt's administration, in which he became the soul of the british counsels, conciliated the good-will of the king, subdued the official jealousy of Newcastle, infused a new spirit into the nation, and curbed the united efforts of the house of Bourbon.

But lord Walpole did not live to witness this brilliant period; he had been long afflicted with the stone, the symptoms of which first made their appearance in 1729, and, returning occasionally, increased in 1747, and the subsequent years, to so violent a degree that he was at times confined to his bed or his couch. He at length appeared to be relieved by the use of soap and lime water, recently recommended by Dr. Whyt, and thought his cure so fully established, that in 1750 he sent an account of his

case to the Royal Society, of which he was a member*. From this period he experienced only slight returns of his dreadful complaint, which were removed by proper precautions; and in the beginning of the winter of 1756 he had a healthful appearance, enjoyed a good appetite, and a high flow of spirits. But the disorder was only palliated; for, in January 1757, he was attacked by a lingering fever, followed by an excruciating fit of the stone, which he bore with uncommon patience and resignation. He preserved his understanding until a few days before his decease, when the laudanum, prescribed to assuage the pain, affected his head; but, on the approach of death, his senses gradually returned, he recovered his wonted serenity of mind, ordered his body to be opened, and employed his last moments in lamenting the state of his country†. He expired on the 5th of February, in the 79th year of his age, and was interred, by his own desire, in the chancel

* See Lord Walpole's Case, Philosophical Transactions, and Gentleman's Magazine for 1758, p. 429.

† Bishop Keene to Mr. Etough, London, Feb. 17, 1757. "You know how sensible I must be of the loss of our great and good friend, which filled up the measure of our misfortunes. For his zeal towards the public, and his earnest solicitude for the interest of his friends, he has left no equal. The whole of his last moments were taken up in lamenting bitterly the state of this poor country."

of the parish-church of Wickmere, near Wolterton.

No character was ever more wantonly misrepresented by the malignance of party than that of lord Walpole. As he was the brother of a minister who so long directed the helm of government, and had so considerable a share in the conduct of foreign affairs, he partook of the obloquy heaped on Sir Robert Walpole in the numerous party-pamphlets and periodical papers which deluged the public during his administration. Smollett, blindly adopting the malevolence of his opponents, described him, "as employed, in despite of nature, in different negotiations; as blunt, awkward and slovenly; an orator without eloquence, an embassador without dignity, and a plenipotentiary without address." But the continuator of Tindal has done justice to his abilities and character*; and the late earl of Hardwicke, who cannot be suspected of interested flattery, has paid a just tribute of applause to his memory:

'Mr. Robinson (afterwards lord Grantham) 'was secretary to Mr. Walpole, embassador in 'France. The annals of this country will re-'cord the abilities of both; and the editor, 'with gratitude, remembers the friendship and 'confidence with which they indulged him.

* Tindal, vol. 20, p. 205.

'Mr. Walpole had the greatest weight with 'cardinal Fleury, till Monsieur Chauvelin 'gained the ascendant over him, and then the 'former desired to be recalled from his station. 'His dispatches (were they published) would 'de credit to his unwearied zeal, industry and 'capacity. He was a great master of the commercial and political interests of this country; 'he was deservedly raised to the peerage in '1756, and died soon after. It was the fashion 'of the opposition of his time, to say, that he 'was the dupe of cardinal Fleury; his correspondence would shew, no man was ever less 'so. He negotiated with firmness and address; 'and, with the love of peace, which was the 'system of his brother, Sir Robert, he never 'lost sight of that great object, keeping up the 'sources of national strength and wealth. One 'of the most cordial leave-takings, which any 'public minister ever had, was that which he 'exchanged with the states-general in 1739, on 'presenting his letters of recall*.'

It is hoped that this observation of so able a judge of political talents will be proved and justified by these Memoirs; and that lord Walpole will be vindicated from the unjust obloquy heaped upon his person and abilities.

Lord Walpole, in his person, was below the

* Hardwicke's State Papers, vol. 2, p. 631

middle size; he did not possess the graces recommended by lord Chesterfield as the essential requisites of a fine gentleman: and his manners were plain and unassuming. Notwithstanding his long residence abroad, he was careless in his dress; though witty, he was often boisterous in conversation, and his speech was tinctured with the provincial accent of Norfolk. But these trifling defects, which the prejudices of party highly exaggerated, and which rendered his personal appearance unprepossessing, he was, himself, the first to ridicule. He was frequently heard to say, that he never learnt to dance, that he did not pique himself on making a bow, and that he had taught himself french.

He was by nature choleric and impetuous; a foible which he acknowledges in a letter to his brother: "You know my mother used to say that I was the most passionate, but not the most positive child she ever had." He corrected, however, this defect so prejudicial to an embassador; for no one ever behaved with more coolness and address in adapting himself to circumstances, and in consulting the characters and prejudices of those with whom he negotiated. Notwithstanding his natural vivacity, he was extremely placable, and easily appeased. He behaved to those who had reviled his brother's administration, and derided his own

talents and person, with unvaried candour and affability; and no instance occurs of his personal enmity to the most violent of his former opponents.

In conversation he was candid and unassuming; and communicated the inexhaustible fund of matter, with which his mind was stored, with an ease and vivacity* which arrested attention.

In the latter part of his life he fondly expatiated on past transactions, removed the prejudices of many who had been deluded by the misrepresentations of party, and induced several of his former opponents candidly to confess their errors.

With regard to his moral conduct, he was sincere in his belief of christianity, and zealous and constant in performing the duties of religion. His private character was irreproachable; he was a tender husband, an affectionate father, a zealous friend, and a good master; he was particularly careful in superintending the education of his children, and had the satisfaction of seeing his cares repaid by their good conduct.

* Bishop Keene, in a letter to Mr. Etough, says, "Old Horace dined with me the other day; he was uncommonly communicative and agreeable." The late much regretted lord Sydney frequently expatiated on lord Walpole's spirited and interesting flow of conversation; Mr. Cresset Pelham also recollects, with pleasure, the satisfaction and information which he derived from his intercourse with lord Walpole.

He maintained an unimpeached character for truth and integrity, as well in his public as in his private capacity. He gave a striking proof of his invariable attachment to his word by refusing to sign the triple alliance between the Emperor, Great Britain and France; because he had solemnly assured the States, that no treaty should be concluded with France without their participation *. This attachment to truth, which has been too often supposed an incumbrance to ministers in foreign transactions, established his credit, and contributed to his success in many difficult negotiations. He was equally trusted by the sagacious Fleury, the cautious Heinsius, and the irritable Slingelandt.

He was by nature and habit, arising from the original smallness of his fortune, and from the necessity of providing for a numerous family strictly economical; yet he was liberal in rewarding services, and magnificent whenever the dignity of his station required. During his embassies he acted with a laudable spirit, which few embassadors have imitated; even in his absence a regular table was maintained, and the same establishment (except in his equipages) kept up as when he was present. He was accustomed to say, that the best intelligence is obtained by the convivial intercourse of a good

* See vol 1. p. 24

table; and was anxious to give the same opportunities to his secretary.

He was always an early riser, and usually finished his dispatches, and transacted his business, before the hour of dinner, unless he was pressed by urgent affairs. Being fond of company, and of a convivial temper, though strictly sober in his habits, he usually relaxed his attention after dinner, and passed a cheerful evening in domestic enjoyments or mixed society.

During the whole administration of his brother, he was not only assiduous in fulfilling the drudgery of his own official departments, but had a share in directing every negotiation, and superintended the whole system of foreign affairs. Even after his retirement from office, he spontaneously submitted his thoughts to the king or ministry: and, on account of his extensive knowledge in political affairs, he was constantly consulted, and drew up memorials, abstracts of treaties, and other diplomatic papers. Although many of these documents were destroyed by himself, and others unavoidably lost; yet those which remain are so numerous as to excite astonishment at his incredible perseverance.

Lord Walpole also gave to the public several pamphlets, which are enumerated in the note*;

* It is difficult to give a complete list of lord Walpole's works, as all his pamphlets were published without his name, and

and it may be truly said, that few treatises of importance issued from the press, on the side of the ministry with whom he acted, which were not submitted to his inspection, or corrected and improved by his hand.

During the time of his embassies, and when almost the whole affairs of Europe passed through his hands, Lord Walpole was no less employed at home. He constantly spent the summer and autumn at his post, and returned to England just before the meeting of parliament; he was always consulted by his brother, and often by the king, on the current affairs,

and as the list given by his nephew, the late earl of Orford, is extremely defective and erroneous. Although his political publications must have been extremely numerous, yet the following are the only works which I can ascertain to be his. I have given, under the title of those which are doubtful, the evidence on which I ground my opinion.

Considerations on the Present State of Affairs in Europe, and particularly with regard to the number of Forces in the Pay of Great Britain. London, 1730.

—The title-page of a copy of this pamphlet, at Wolterton, is inscribed, in Mr. Walpole's hand-writing, "by H. W."

The Grand Question, Whether War or No War with Spain impartially considered, in Defence of the present Measures, against those that delight in War.

—I find a copy of this pamphlet at Wolterton, with a blank for the publisher's name.

The Convention vindicated from the Misrepresentations of the Enemies of our Peace. 1738.

—I find

and took an active share in those debates which related to foreign transactions.

Lord Walpole was intimately acquainted with the history both of antient and modern times, and this political knowledge was accurate and comprehensive, being the result of sagacious observation, improved by long practice in momentous business. Few persons also possessed a deeper insight into the human heart, or a more accurate and ready discrimination of character.

He paid great attention to the trade and manufactures of this country, particularly to those which Great Britain carried on with the Ame-

—I find a copy of this pamphlet likewise without the publisher's name, and with numerous corrections for the press, in Mr. Walpole's hand.

The Interest of Great Britain steadily pursued; in answer to a pamphlet entitled. The Case of the Hanover Forces impartially and freely examined. Part I.

Complaints of the Manufacturers relating to the Abuses in marking the Sheep and winding the Wool, stated and impartially considered, in a letter to the Marquis of Rockingham, 1752. Printed in the Gentleman's Magazine.
—The MS. of this pamphlet is among the Walpole Papers, in Mr. Walpole's hand writing; with a letter from the Solicitor General, Mr. Murray, afterwards Lord Mansfield, dated August 4, 1752, to whom he submitted it.

Answer to the Latter Part of Lord Bolingbroke's Letters on the Study of History; in a Series of Letters to a Noble Lord. London, 1763.

rican Colonies, and which the place of auditor of the foreign plantations rendered, according to his own expression, "no less an object of duty than of information." The treatises which he published, and many which he left in manuscript, prove his minute and extensive knowledge of those subjects. There is scarcely an article of trade, commerce and manufacture, both native and foreign, on which documents are not found among his papers, interspersed with occasional remarks in his own handwriting. These remarks shew great liberality of sentiments, and the most extensive views with respect to the freedom of trade, the abolition of monopolies, and the prevention of smuggling. His acquaintance with these subjects was so well known and appreciated, that, not only during the administration of Sir Robert Walpole, but even in subsequent periods, he was consulted, and had the principal share in preparing many acts of parliament relating to the increase of trade, or the improvement of manufactures.

From the time of his brother's resignation, till his own death, he neither desired nor courted any official employment. During this period he acted a part which every man of moderation and integrity will admire and imitate. Instead of going into petulant opposition, or publicly combating the measures of government,

he thought it his duty openly to support them, whenever they deserved approbation. When he differed from the king and ministers in essential points, he always privately delivered his opinion, either in person, or by letter. Whenever he was convinced that government was pursuing weak or improper measures, he gave his sentiments with a respect, firmness, and perseverance, which few persons bred in courts would have the courage and integrity to imitate. His private correspondence, in this publication, displays many instances in which his frankness and perseverance offended the king and the ministers, and drew on himself the imputation of officiousness.

Lord Walpole understood and wrote French with great fluency and propriety, and spoke it with equal facility, though with a foreign accent. Cardinal Fleury, alluding to his pronunciation, used to say of him, "Il est diablement eloquent avec son mauvais françois." His knowledge of classical literature was very considerable, and formed a great fund of amusement during his retirement in the country, and in the latter period of his life. In his letters to his friends he often dwells with peculiar pleasure on the writings of antiquity, and proves his knowledge and taste by frequent and apposite quotations. He maintained a constant intercourse with men of letters, both native and

foreign. Pope presented him with a copy of his works, which is still preserved in the library at Wolterton, as a mark of gratitude for obtaining from cardinal Fleury a benefice for his friend the abbé Southcote; and he maintained an epistolary correspondence with Maittaire, the learned author of the Annales Typographici, and editor of Corpus Poetarum Latinorum. Several of Maittaire's letters, both in latin and english, are preserved in the collection at Wolterton; and I shall subjoin one, with the answer of Mr. Walpole, which will shew his liberality, and the gratitude of Maittaire:

Mr. Maittaire to Mr. Walpole.

London, Aug. 16, 1742, King-street,
" HON. SIR, Bloomsbury-square.

" Though I have not had an opportunity of paying my respects to you since the death of my very worthy and good friend Sir Richard Ellyss, yet I have retained, and I shall ever retain, a deep sense of those favours which, through his recommendation, you was pleased to bestow on me. I shall never forget the great and generous encouragement you gave to the poor product of an old man's leisure hours and private diversion; I have taken care to acknowledge it in print: but I would most gladly and readily embrace an occasion of giving you some real token of my gratitude. I have left at your

house in town three copies of my *Senilia*, two for yourself, and one for your son; for which you have subscribed and paid. As for those forty, which are likewise your's, upon the account of the large present I received from you by the hands of Sir Richard, I give you my word, that they shall be laid by and kept, and none shall be any where disposed of, but by your order to him, who begs leave to subscribe himself, &c."

Mr. Walpole in Answer.

"DEAR SIR, Wolterton, Sept. 11, 1742.

"My absence from home, in waiting upon my friends on the other side of the country, was the reason why I did not acknowledge your favour of the 16th past sooner, and return you my thanks for your having left at my house in town two copies of your *Senilia* for me, and one for my son. I have sent for one of them, which I don't doubt but that I shall read with great pleasure in my agreeable retirement: as to the other forty, which are kept for my disposal on account of the trifle you received from me, I made you that compliment purely as a small token of my grateful sense of the honour you did me in taking notice of what I had sportingly addressed to our late good friend Sir Richard Ellyss; and as I expected nothing but your kind acceptance, beg you will dispose of

W.N.Gardiner del. Pub. Feb.1 1802 by the Rev.d W.Coxe London. E.Harding Sc.

Your most affectionate
H.W. Walpole

MARY MAGDALEN, WIFE of HORATIO LORD WALPOLE,

From an Original in the Collection of Lord Walpole.

those copies as you shall think proper yourself, which will be an additional obligation to him who is, with the greatest consideration and esteem, &c."

I find also an Alcaic ode, in imitation of Horace's ode to Pollio*; and another in Endecasyllabic verse, in which Maittaire† acknowledges the benefit of Mr. Walpole's assistance in correcting and polishing his verses.

Lord Walpole espoused, in 1720, Mary Magdalen, daughter and coheiress of Peter Lombard, esq. of Burnham Thorpe, in the county of Norfolk, with whom he obtained a considerable fortune, which rendered him independent, and, in addition to his official emoluments, furnished a handsome settlement for his children. She survived her husband twenty-six years; she lost her sight towards the latter period of her life, a misfortune which she bore with extreme serenity, and died at his house in the Cockpit, on the 9th of March 1783, aged 88.

Lord Walpole left by this lady four sons and three daughters, and was succeeded in his estate, and title of Baron Walpole of Wolterton, by his eldest son Horatio, who, on the death of the late earl of Orford in 1797, became baron Walpole of Walpole; and in 1805 had the satisfaction to revive in his person, by a new creation, the title of Earl of Orford.

* Liber II. Ode I. † Maittaire died in 1749, aged 79.

The family estate of Wolterton was purchased by lord Walpole soon after his marriage, and consisted of a small mansion, with landed property of not more than 500*l.* a year, which he afterwards considerably increased by purchase. The house being burnt during his embassy, he rebuilt it under the direction of Ripley, who had been employed at Houghton by his brother, and had erected the Admiralty. According to the opinion of the noble author of the Anecdotes of Painting, it is one of the best houses of the size in England; and Sir Robert Walpole expressed his regret that he had constructed a larger mansion at Houghton. Lord Walpole was much attached to this spot, and in a letter to his brother, written after a visit to Houghton and Rainham, he says, "When I came home, my little place, after the sight of two such noble palaces, looked, as what is mine should look, like an humble but decent cottage, with this satisfaction, if I have not forgot all my greek,

οικος Φιλος οικος αριστος*."

* Nearly equivalent to the English proverb, "Our own home is the best home."

A TABLE OF THE FAMILY AND DESCENDANTS OF *HORATIO, FIRST LORD WALPOLE OF WOLTERTON.*

Sir Edward Walpole, *d.* 1667. = Susan, Dr. of Robert Crane.
See the Table of his ancestors in the Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole.

- Robert, *b.* 1650, *d.* 1700. = Mary, d. of Sir Jeffery Burwell.
- Horatio, *m.* Lady Anne Osborn, D. of Th. d. of Leeds, and widow of T. Coke, of Holkham.

Sir Robert Walpole, E. of Orford, *b.* 1676, *d.* 1745. See Table of his descendants in the Memoirs of Sir R. Walpole.

Horatio, *b.* 1678, created Baron Walpole, of Wolterton, 1756, *d.* 1757. = Mary Magdalen, d. of Peter Lombard, esq. of Burnham Thorpe, Norfolk, *d.* 1783.

Galfridus, *b.* 1683, *d.* 1726.

Mary, *b.* 1673, *m.* Sir Ch. Turner, bt. of Warham, Norfolk. *

Dorothy, *b.* 1686, *d.* 1726; second wife of Charles, second visc. Townshend.

Susan, *b.* 1687, *d.* 1753, *m.* Anthony Hammond, esq. South Walton, Norfolk.

Horatio, succeeded as Baron Walpole of Wolterton, 1757; as Baron Walpole, of Walpole, 1797; created E. of Orford, 1806. = Lady Rachel, d. of William 3d, D. of Devonshire, *d.* 1806.

Thomas. *(See next Table.)*

Richard. *(See next Table.)*

Robert. *(See next Table.)*

Mary, *m.* M. Suckling, esq. son of the Rev. Dr. Suckling, by Anne, d. of Sir C. Turner, *d.* 1769.

Henrietta.

Anne, *d.* 1797.

Catherine, relict of the Rev. T. Chamberlayne, *d.* 1807. = Horatio, Lord Walpole. = Sophia, d. of C. Churchill, esq. *d.* 1797.

George.

Katherine.

Mary. = Thomas Hussey, esq.

Horatio. William. John. Charlotte. Maria. Harriet. Georgiana. Mary. Katherine.

Edward Thomas, *m.* Anne Frances, d. of Sir E. Bacon, Bart. by whom a son, Edward.

Mary, *m.* the Hon. and Rev. William Woodehouse.

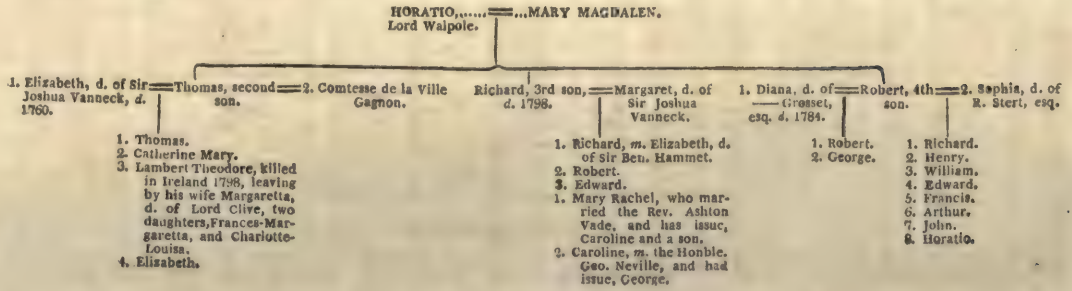
Isabella-Anne.

* From this branch of the Walpole Family, is descended Horatio, Viscount and Baron Nelson, who died in the arms of victory, and whose Naval services require no eulogium. He received the name of Horatio from lord Walpole, who was his godfather. His father, the Rev. Edmund Nelson, Rector of Burnham-Thorpe, Norfolk, married Catherine, daughter of the Rev. Dr. Suckling, by Anne, daughter of Sir Charles Turner, Baronet, of Warham, Norfolk.

SECOND TABLE.

THE DESCENDANTS FROM THE YOUNGER SONS OF

HORATIO, FIRST LORD WALPOLE OF WOLTERTON.


HORATIO,..... ...MARY MAGDALEN.
Lord Walpole.
1. Elizabeth, d. of Sir Joshua Vanneck, d. 1760.
Thomas, second son.
2. Comtesse de la Ville Gagnon.
Richard, 3rd son, d. 1798.
Margaret, d. of Sir Joshua Vanneck.
1. Diana, d. of —— Grenset, esq. d. 1784.
Robert, 4th son.
2. Sophia, d. of R. Stert, esq.
1. Thomas.
2. Catherine Mary.
3. Lambert Theodore, killed in Ireland 1798, leaving by his wife Margaretta, d. of Lord Clive, two daughters, Frances-Margaretta, and Charlotte-Louisa.
4. Elizabeth.
1. Richard, m. Elizabeth, d. of Sir Ben. Hammet.
2. Robert.
3. Edward.
1. Mary Rachel, who married the Rev. Ashton Vade, and has issue, Caroline and a son.
2. Caroline, m. the Honble. Geo. Neville, and had issue, George.
1. Robert.
2. George.
1. Richard.
2. Henry.
3. William.
4. Edward.
5. Francis.
6. Arthur.
7. John.
8. Horatio.

*WE close this new edition of the Memoirs of Lord Walpole with an elegant Lyric Ode, by Nicholas Hardinge, Esq.**

ÆDES WOLTERTONIANÆ.

WOLTERTON; THE SEAT OF HORATIO, LORD WALPOLE.

Written in London. 1750.

Quæ cernis, hospes, tecta nitentia
Intaminati ruris amabiles
Gazas, et effusos lepores,—
Otia læta vides Horatî;

Walpoliorum de pare nobili,
Rebusque gestis egregio domi,
Et exteras, magni, per oras
Sustinuisse decus Georgî.

Hanc ille curis condidit inviam
Arcem, peractis ritè negotiis,
Quâ mens redintegrare vires
Fessa queat recreante musâ.

Hìc, Flacce, tecum suaviter aureis
Certare plectris, et fide Daunià
Victura condiscet sonare
Carmina, te docilis magistro;

* Communicated by his son George Hardinge, Esq.

Œdesque, lucosque interitu eximet
Pulchros; ut ævo non metuat mori
Ter functa quercus, grata Musis,
Perpetuâ viridis juventâ.

Fallorne? an ictæ pollice fervido
Hinc inde lætas jam sonitus lyræ
Permulcet aures?—O! Camœna,
Ante alias mihi grata salve!

Sedes amænas ut tibi gratulor,
Vatemque nactæ principis æmulum
Flacci!—perennes necte lauros
Et parilem capiti coronam.

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